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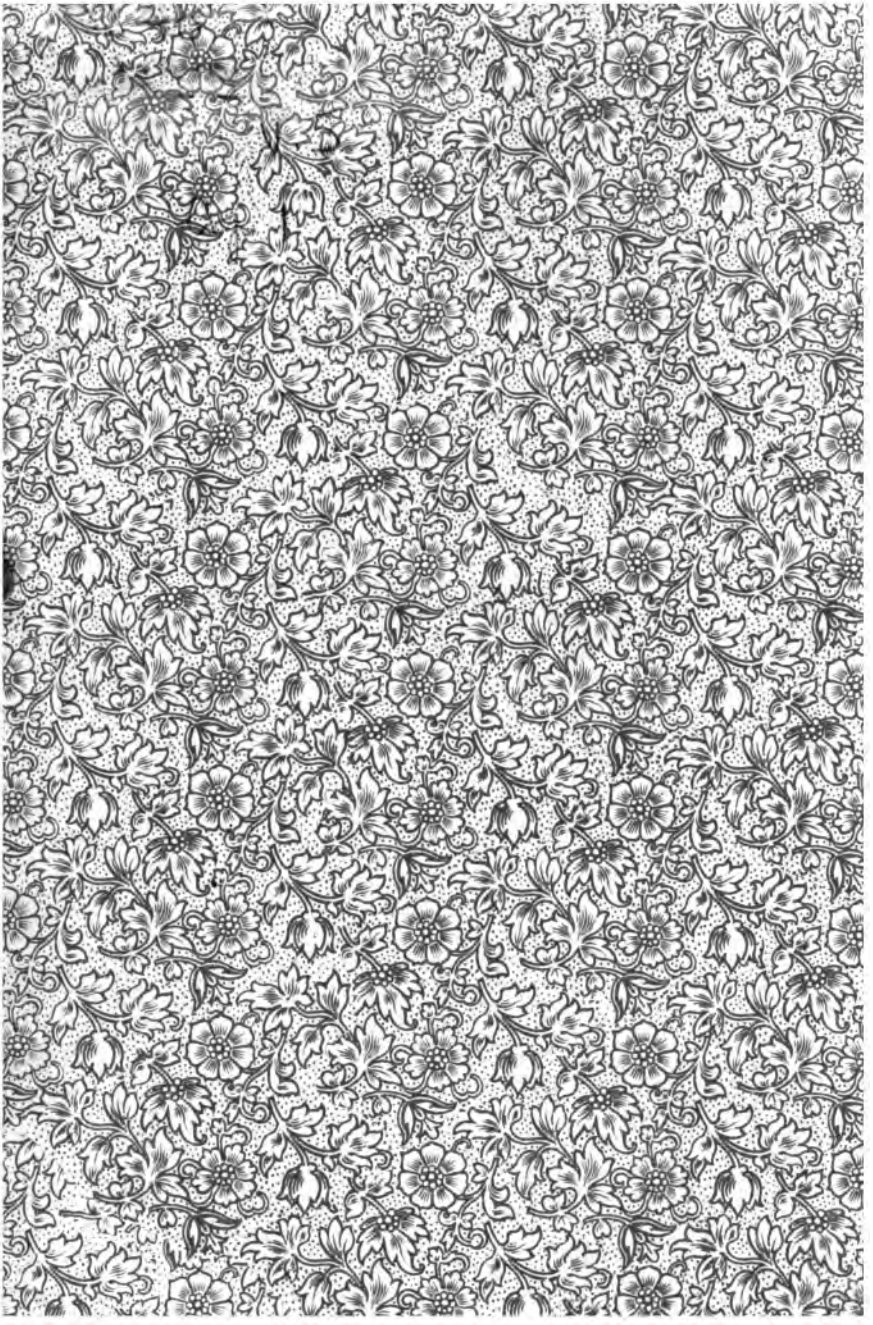

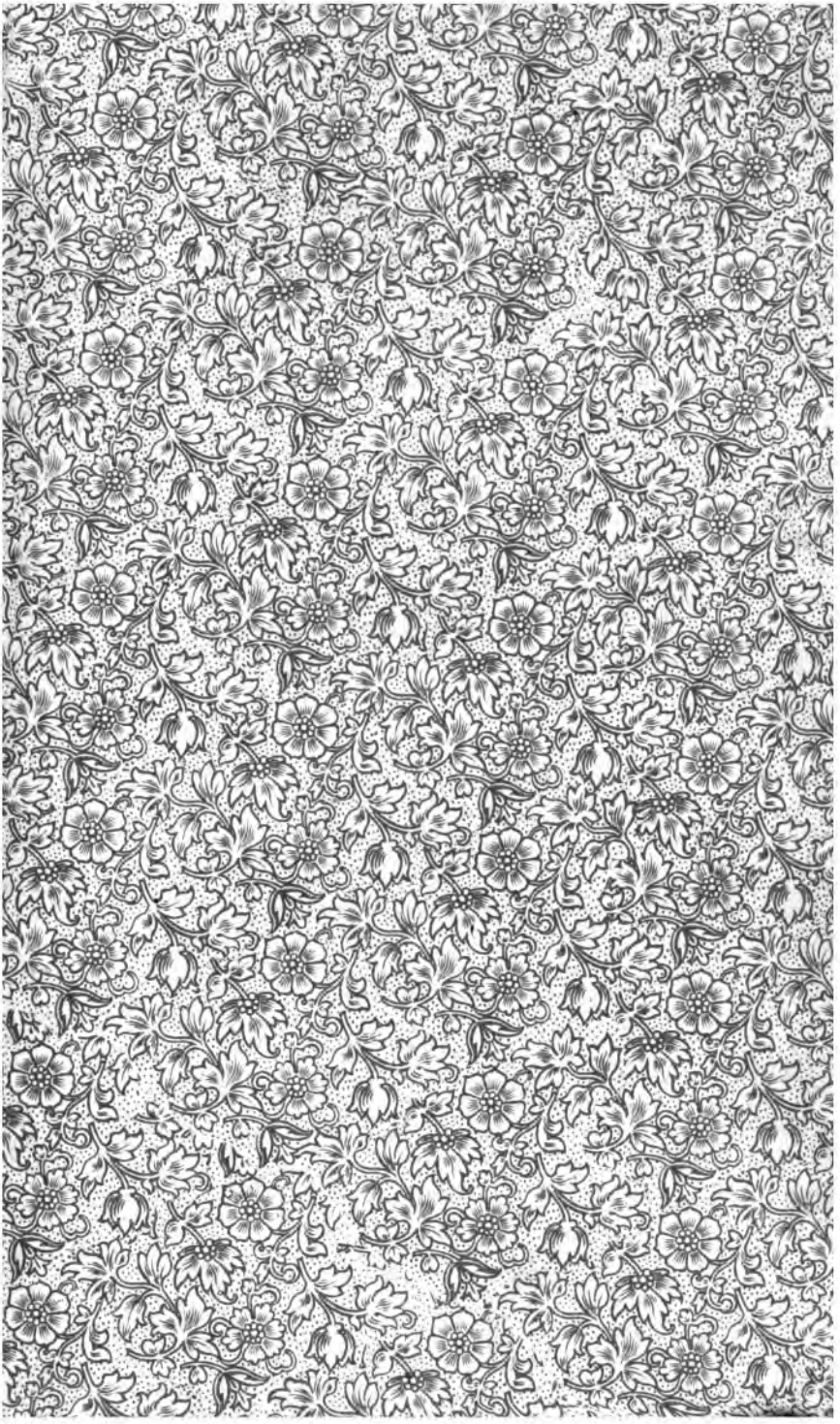

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Vol. V. No. 1.

Translations and Reprints

FROM THE

Original Sources of European History

MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM

THE DEEDS OF AUGUSTUS

EDITED BY WILLIAM FAIRLEY, PH.D.

PUBLISHED BY

The Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, Pa., 1898.

ENGLISH AGENCY: P. S. KING & SON, 12-14 King Street, London, S. W.

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PHILADELPHIA
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1898

PREFACE

The method employed in this edition of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* is suggested by the purpose for which it is intended. That purpose is primarily to adapt it as one of the series of *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania. The English version is the core of the work. At the same time the opportunity has been seized to present the original texts in such form as to be of real philological service. That there is room for such an edition of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* there can be no doubt. The critical edition published by Mommsen in 1883, *Res Gestæ Divi Augusti*, must long remain for scholars the sufficient hand-book for the study of the greatest of inscriptions. But that edition, with its Latin notes, is not adapted for ordinary school or college use, or for historical study by those who do not readily use Latin. And although Roman histories constantly refer to this great source for the life and times of Augustus, there has been no accessible English translation. It is true that the English translation of Duruy's *History of Rome* contains a version of the *Monumentum*, but it is not in full accord with the latest text as set forth by Mommsen, and is hidden away in the ponderous volumes of that expensive work.

Aside from Mommsen's edition of 1883, the only recent edition is a French one of 1886 by C. Peltier. But this is simply a condensation of Mommsen. While the present edition depends very largely on Mommsen's work, it is more than a condensation. Not only is the English version given, but all the known studies of the text published since 1883, and in criticism of Mommsen, have been collated. The emendations thus suggested have been placed as footnotes to the Latin and Greek texts. Moreover, the notes have been carefully revised. For the most part they are much reduced in compass, but in many cases they are added to; and a large number of typographical errors in Mommsen's edition have been corrected. Most of these errors were

reproduced in the French edition above mentioned. In a work with such a multitude of references it is too much to hope that all errors have been avoided, and the editor will be greatly indebted if users of the book will report them to him.

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INTRODUCTION

I. History of the Inscription.

Suetonius in his *Life of Augustus* tells us that that Emperor had placed in charge of the Vestal virgins his will and three other sealed documents; and the four papers were produced and read in the senate immediately after his death. One of these additional documents gave directions as to his funeral; another gave a concise account of the state of the empire; the third contained a list of "his achievements which he desired should be inscribed on brazen tablets and placed before his mausoleum." These tablets perished in the decline of Rome. Centuries passed; men had ceased to ask about them, and there was no idea that they would ever be brought to light. Nor were the original tablets ever found. But in 1555 Buysbecche, a Dutch scholar, was sent on an embassy from the Emperor Ferdinand II. to the Sultan Soliman at Amasia in Asia Minor; and a letter of his, published among others at Frankfort in 1595, tells the story of the discovery of a copy of this epitaph of Augustus. He writes: "On our nineteenth day from Constantinople we reached Ancyra. Here we found a most beautiful inscription, and a copy of those tablets on which Augustus had placed the story of his achievements." From this situation of the copy comes the common title, *Monumentum Ancyranum*. Buysbecche made some attempt to copy the Latin inscription, but his work was very hasty and incomplete. What he had discovered was of extreme importance, and his report stimulated such interest that European scholars never rested till as complete a copy as possible was finally made in our own time. The temple on whose walls the inscription was found was one dedicated to Augustus and Rome, as was a common custom during the lifetime of that Emperor. It was a hexastyle of white marble, with joints of such exquisite workmanship that even in this century it was difficult to trace some of them. This temple had served as a Christian church till the

fifteenth century, and from that time has been part of a Turkish mosque, some sections of its enclosure being used as a cemetery. The great inscription was cut on the two side walls of the pronaos, or vestibule. It was in six pages, three on the left as one entered, and three on the right. Each page contained from forty-two to fifty-four lines, and each line an average of sixty letters. The pages cover six courses of the masonry in height, about 2.70 metres, and the length of the inscription on each wall is about 4 metres. On one of the outer walls of the temple was a Greek translation of the Latin. This measures 1.38 metres in height by 21 metres in length. Several Turkish houses had been built against the wall containing this Greek version, and this made the reading of it, and still more the copying, an extremely difficult task. The priceless value of the Greek version lies in the fact that it supplements in many cases the breaks in the Latin. For it is needless to say that an inscription so old and so exposed has suffered much from time and violence. Various travelers have described the temple and its treasure: Tournefort in his *Voyage du Levant*, Lyons, 1717; Kinneir, *Journey Through Asia Minor*, 1818; Texier, *Description de l'Asie mineure*, Paris, 1839; William Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London, 1842; and most completely, Guillaume, Perrot and Delbet, in their *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie, etc., in 1861*, Paris, 1872.

Numerous attempts were made at transcribing the inscription, and a number of editions were published. Buysbecche's fragments found several editors in the century of their discovery. About a hundred years after him Daniel Cosson, a merchant from Leyden, who had lived many years at Smyrna, dying there in 1689, caused an attempt to be made to secure a copy, and with somewhat better results. His copy was edited at Leyden in 1695. In 1701 Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, under direction of Louis XIV, visited Ancyra, and attempted to secure a facsimile of the text. In 1705 Paul Lucas, also sent by Louis XIV, spent twenty days in copying the Latin, and his work was the last of its kind till the present century. While these early copies are far from being as perfect as more recent ones, they have this value: that in a number of cases they show parts of the inscription which progressive disintegration has now rendered illegible.

The Greek text, owing to the buildings reared against it, was much harder to transcribe. In 1745 Richard Pococke published a few fragments, and in 1832 Hamilton copied pages 10, 11, 12 and 13 of the nineteen into which the Greek is divided.

Within recent years all has been done that can possibly be done to secure perfect copies of both Greek and Latin. In 1859 the Royal Academy of Berlin commissioned a scholar named Mordtmann to secure a *papier maché* cast of the Latin, and to transcribe the Greek. He failed in both attempts, and declared that the casts would ruin the original.

Napoleon III. commissioned George Perrot and Edmund Guillaume to explore Asia Minor. In their work above mentioned they give a facsimile copy of the whole of the Latin, and of as much of the Greek as they could get at. Their plates were the basis of an edition of the text by Mommsen in 1865, and another by Bergk in 1873, and of the text given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

But Mommsen and the Berlin Academy were not satisfied. Carl Humann had distinguished himself by his researches at Pergamos, and to him they committed the task of securing casts of the whole of both texts. The story of his achievement is extremely interesting. Difficulty after difficulty was met and surmounted. And finally he succeeded in his plan. With materials dug near-by he made plaster casts. The owners of the Turkish houses he succeeded in inducing to allow their walls to be so far torn away as to permit him to get at the entire Greek text. And finally twenty great cases containing the whole series of casts were sent away on pack mules to the coast and thence to Berlin. The Royal Academy now counts these casts among its chief treasures. This was in 1882. In 1883 Mommsen published his great critical edition of the text, on which this edition is based. His work is almost final on the subject, but especially in the matter of conjectural fillings of the *lacunæ* is subject to revision. But an inspection of the text as given in this volume will show that we have the words of Augustus almost in their entirety.

At Apollonia, on the borders of Phrygia and Pisidia, has been found another ruined temple, with remnants of the Greek version of this inscription. At Apollonia the inscription originally covered seven pages. Of these there are still legible the upper portions of pages two, three, four and five. The correspondence between the text at Ancyra and that at Apollonia is almost exact, and where there is a divergence, it has been indicated.

II. Character and Purpose of the Inscription.

German scholars have waged a fierce warfare over the question of the literary character of the *Res Gestæ*, as Mommsen commonly calls it.

He himself refrains from assigning it decidedly to any class of composition. Is it epitaph, or a "statement of account," or "political statement"? Otto Hirschfeld contends strongly it is not an epitaph because it contains no dates of birth or death, and is in the first person. Wölfflin calls it a statement of account. Geppert sides with Hirschfeld. Bormann, Schmidt and Nissen all hold it to be an epitaph. And this appears to be the final agreement. The latest word is the discussion by Bormann, in 1895, in which he still maintains the epitaph view. For these discussions, cf. the bibliography at the end of this volume.

Of course it is an epitaph of unique character. It has certain striking peculiarities, and specially of omission. There is no mention of domestic affairs. The wife of the Emperor is unnamed. Although in enumerating his honors and offices it was necessary to date events by the names of consuls, yet aside from this he mentions no person outside the imperial household, not even such favorites as Mæcenas and Agrippa. His foes, Brutus, Cassius and Antony, are several times alluded to, but never named. The same is true of Lepidus and Sextus Pompeius. Unfortunate events are not noticed. His omission of the disaster to the Roman arms under Varus has been severely criticised as an attempt to deceive; but if the inscription is really an epitaph one cannot wonder at such silence. The omission of the dates of birth and death has been variously explained. Some have thought that he meant his heirs to fill in any such gaps after his death, and to recast the whole into the third person. Or, it has been suggested that it was the desire of Augustus to be counted a divinity, and that therefore he wished to pose as one "without beginning of years, or end of days." It certainly would be incongruous to record the death of a god. With regard to his general purpose Mommsen says: "No one would look for the arcana of empire in such a document, but for such things as an *imperator* of mind shrewd rather than lofty, and who skillfully bore the character of a great man while he himself was not great, wished the whole people, and especially the rabble, to believe about him." Two purposes are manifest throughout the document. One is to pose as a saviour of the state from its foes, and not at all as a seeker after personal aggrandizement; another is to represent his whole authority as having been exercised under constitutional forms. These two ideas appear again and again.

III. Divisions of the Text.

The text may be roughly divided into three sections. Chapters one to fourteen give the various offices held by Augustus, and the honors

bestowed upon him; chapters fifteen to twenty-four recount his expenditures for the good of the state and the people; and the remaining chapters, twenty-five to thirty-five, give the statement of his various achievements in war, and his works of a more peaceful character. This classification will not hold rigorously, but is true in the main.

The division into chapters or paragraphs is marked in the Latin text by making the first line of each chapter project a little to the left of the remaining lines. Each such paragraph is relatively complete. And the use of such a topical method marks a new manner of composition quite different from the old annalistic style of Roman historiography.

IV. The Greek Version.

George Kaibel has made a special study of the Greek version, and is led to the opinion that it was made by a Roman rather than by a Greek. It is a grammar and dictionary rendering, rather than the idiomatic work of one quite at home in the use of Greek. This conclusion is based upon linguistic grounds. A further question remains as to where this translation was made, whether at Rome or in the provinces. The fact of the identity of the two copies at Apollonia and at Ancyra would seem to indicate a common Roman source.

V. The Supplement.

This is poorly written both in the Latin and in the Greek; and it is also a very imperfect summary of the document, summing up only what was spent upon games, donations and buildings. The fact that it is in the third person also proves that it is not the work of Augustus. The reckoning by denarii rather than by sesterces points to a Greek origin, and the mention of favors shown by Augustus to provincial towns (cf. c. 4 and notes) would indicate one outside of Rome.

VI. Trustworthiness of the Inscription.

The corroborations of the inscription by other inscriptions, coins and later historians, as well as by allusions in contemporary literature, form an interesting study. And the trustworthiness of the record becomes more manifest the more one compares its statements with those of other writers. Only one point has been found where Augustus makes what might be challenged as a perversion of fact. (Cf. c. 2, note 3.)

VII. Masons' Blunders.

A number of apparent errors in the text are to be attributed in all probability to the stone-cutters at Ancyra. Such are the superfluous *et* of Latin ii, 2; *aede* for *aedem*, iv, 22; *quinquens* for *quinquiens*, iv, 31; *ducenti* for *ducentos*, iv, 45; *provicias* for *provincias*, v, 11; *Tigrane* for *Tigranem*, v, 31. εὔξησα for ἠύξησα, Gr. iv, 8; Ῥωμάοις for Ῥωμαίοις, vii, 6; ὑπατον for ὑπάτων, vii, 15; ἄνδρας μυριάδων for ἀνδρῶν μυριάδας, viii, 8; omission of τρὶς before χειλίας, ix, 13; ἐπεσκευσα for ἐπεσκευάσα, x, 18; omission of ναὸν before ἀγοράν, xi, 10; επεύξησα for ἐπηύξησα, xiv, 4; omission of Ἀρτάξου, xv, 3; μείσζονος for μείζονος, xv, 15; πρυκατηλειμένας for κατειλημένας, xv, 17; ἐπειταδε for ἐπίταδε, xvi, 11; βασιλεες for βασιλεῖς, xvi, 22; βασιλεις for βασιλεὺς, xvii, 4; ἐπείκειαν for ἐπιείκειαν, xviii, 5; ἀγορᾷ Σεβαστῇ for ἀγορὰ Σεβαστή, xix, 1.

VIII. Signs and Abbreviations.

The Latin and Greek texts are printed in such a way as to give the best idea practicable of their actual condition. Roman numerals denote the pages of the inscription, and the Arabic figures the lines. These numerals and the chapter headings are no part of the inscription. The projection of the first line of each chapter in the Latin is the only method of marking the divisions in the original.

Parts of the Greek and Latin text included within brackets, [ ], are conjectural restorations of the portions of the inscription which have perished. The Greek generally is a guide to the Latin and *vice versa*, for the instances are rare where both versions have been lost. The textual notes show that not all scholars have reckoned the same number of missing letters. These variations are quite allowable, for it is impossible to say that just so many letters are missing in any given case, owing to the various sizes of different letters, and varying degrees of closeness of writing.

Where dots (. . .) occur, it signifies that Mommsen reckons as many letters unrestored as there are dots.

The sign § indicates a mark in the original resembling a figure 7, or a very open 3.

The same sign in brackets [§] indicates an unfilled interval in the stone.

The apices over vowels in the Latin indicate similar marks in the original in the case of a, e, o and u, and in the case of i a prolongation of that letter above the line.

Where certain letters of the Latin text are italicized it indicates that while they do not appear in the plaster casts, yet they were traced by Alfred Domaszewski (a fellow-worker with Humann) on the stone itself, by means of certain discolorations from paint, or gilding, or weather, which marked the bottom of the incisions of the letters in several cases where the surface of the stone had been worn away.

In the textual notes, B. stands for Bormann, G. for Geppert, S. for J. Schmidt, Sk. for Seeck, W. for Wölfflin, Apoll. for the inscription at Apollonia, and Anc. for that at Ancyra.

The abbreviations of the names of authors and their works in the historical notes are indicated in the bibliography at the close of the book.

MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM.

Rérum gestárum díví Augusti, quibus orbem terra[rum] imperio populi Rom. subiécit, § et inpensarum, quas in rem publicam populumque Ro[ma]num fecit, incísarum in duabus aheneís pílís, quae su[n]t Romae positae, exemplar sub[i]ectum.

I. c. 1.

1 Annós undévigiuti natus exercitum priváto consilio et privatá impensá
2 comparávi, [§] per quem rem publicam [do]minatione factionis oppressam
3 in libertátem vindicá[vi. Ob quae sen]atus decretis honor-[ifi]cis in
4 ordinem suum m[e adlegit C. Pansa A. Hirti]o consulibu-[s, c]on[sula]-

I, 3. ob quae, W. quas ob res; S. and B. propter quae.

Below is a copy of the deeds of the divine Augustus, by which he subjected the whole world to the dominion of the Roman people, and of the amounts which he expended upon the commonwealth and the Roman people, as engraved upon two brazen columns which are set up at Rome.[1]

(c. 1. - c. 2)

In my twentieth year,[1] acting upon my own judgment[2] and at my own expense,[3] I raised an army[4] by means of which I restored to liberty the commonwealth which had been oppressed by the tyranny of a faction.[5] On account of this the senate by laudatory decrees admitted me to its order,[6] in the consulship of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, and at

NOTES.

[1] This title at Ancyra extends over the first three pages of the Latin, that is over so much of the inscription as is on the left wall of the pronaos; the Greek title extends over seventeen of the nineteen pages of the Greek version.

In its present form, the title cannot be the same as that over the original at Rome. All from "as engraved" is certainly an addition, probably made by the

Μεθηρμηνευμέναι ὑπεγράφησαν πράξεις τε καὶ δωρεαὶ Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ, ἃς ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐνκεχαραγμένας χαλκαῖς στήλαις δυσί.

I. C. I.

1 *Ἐτῶν δεκαε[ν]νέα ὢν τὸ στράτευμα ἐμῇ γνώμῃ καὶ*
2 *ἐμοῖς ἀν[αλ]ώμασιν ἡτοί[μασα], δι' οὗ τὰ κοινὰ πρά-*
3 *γματα [ἐκ τῆ]ς τ[ῶ]ν συνο[μοσα]μένων δουλήας*
4 *[ἤλευ]θέ[ρωσα. Ἐφ' ο]ἷς ἡ σύνκλητος ἐπαινέσασά*
5 *[με ψηφίσμασι] προσκατέλεξε τῇ βουλῇ Γαΐῳ Πά[νσ]α*
6 *[Αὔλῳ Ἱρτίῳ ὑ]π[ά]το[ι]ς, ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ὑπατ[ικῶ]ν*

I, 7. *ἅμα*, B. *μοι* or *ἐμοὶ*.

Galatian legate who ordered the magistrates of Ancyra to have the inscription placed on the temple of Augustus. The last two words in the Latin (placed first in the English), were probably inserted only by a blunder at Ancyra. "A copy subjoined," doubtless stood in the legate's letter, just as we might write "see enclosure." But what of the remainder of the inscription, "Of the deeds . . . . Roman people"? It is hardly conceivable that this was the title of the inscription at Rome, because it embraces only two of the three parts into which the subject-matter falls. It covers the achievements and the expenditures of Augustus; in reverse order, however, from that of the document itself; and it omits any allusion to the subject-matter of the first fourteen chapters, which have to do with the offices and honors conferred upon Augustus.

It is impossible to say what was the superscription at Rome. Possibly there was none. The name of Augustus, most likely, was conspicuous somewhere in connection with the front of the mausoleum, and this inscription may very well have been devoid of title.

C. I. [1] Augustus was nineteen years old on Sept. 23, 710.

[2] Cicero (*Ad Att.* XVI, 8, 1,) on Nov. 1, 710, writes: "I have letters from Octavian; great things are doing; he has led over to his views the veterans of Casilinum and Calatia." Cf. Vell. II, 61. Dio XLVI, 29.

[3] Cf. Cic. (*Phil.* III, 2, 3), "The young Cæsar, without our (the senate's) advice or consent, raised an army and poured forth his patrimony."

[4] Gardthausen, *Aug.* 1er Th. 2er Bd. p. 524, thinks that this beginning the Res Gestae with the raising of an army, is an admission of the military foundation of the principate.

[5] Such a statement is part of Augustus' scheme to pose as a restorer of the old order. He makes Brutus, Cassius, Pompey and Antony public enemies.

[6] Cicero says (*Phil.* V, 17, 46), that on Jan. 1, 711, "the senate voted that Gaius Cæsar, son of Gaius, pontiff, should be a senator, and hold praetorian rank in speaking." Dio (XLVI, 29), says that on Jan. 2 or 3, "Cæsar was made senator as a quaestor."

5 rem locum s[imul dans sententiae ferendae, et im]perium mihi
dedit [§].
6 Rés publica n[e quid detrimenti caperet, me] pro praetore
simul cum
7 consulibus pro[videre iussit. Populus] autem eódem anno
mé
8 consulem, cum [cos. uterque bello ceci]disset, et trium virum
reí publi-
9 cae constituend[ae creavit].

c. 2.

10 Qui parentem meum [interfecer]un[t, eó]s in exilium expulí
iudiciís legi-
11 timís ultus eórum [fa]cin[us, e]t posteá bellum inferentis reí
publicae
12 víci b[is a]cie.

I, 5. ferendae, W. dicendae; simul ..... ferendae, B. sententiae dicendae mihi dans; after dedit B. erases [ʔ].
I, 7. jussit, B. jubens.

the same time gave me consular rank in the expression of opinion,[7] and gave me the *imperium*.[8] It also voted that I as propraetor,[9] together with the consuls, should see to it that the commonwealth suffered no harm.[10] In the same year, moreover, when both consuls had perished in war, the people made me consul,[11] and triumvir for organizing the commonwealth.[12]

c. 2.

Those who killed my father[1] I drove into exile by lawful judgments,[2] avenging their crime, and afterwards, when they waged war against the commonwealth, I twice defeated them in battle.[3]

---

[7] Livy (*Ep.* CXVIII), "he received the consular ornaments." App. (*B. C.* III, 51) adds that he was given consular rank in speaking. Cf. Mommsen, *Röm. St.*, I, pp. 442, 443.

[8] Cf. Cic. (*Phil.* 11, 8, 20), "The senate gave Gaius Cæsar the fasces." Cf. Tac. *Ann.* I, 10; Livy, *Ep.* CXVIII.

[9] App. *B. C.* III, 51. Vell. II, 61.

[10] The formula by which in emergencies, extraordinary powers were given to the ordinary magistrates. This measure had since 216 B. C., entirely superseded the old

7 [ἅμα τ]ὸ σ[υμβου]λεύειν δοῦσα, ῥάβδου[ς] τ' ἐμοὶ ἔδωκεν.
8 [Περ]ὶ τὰ δημόσια πράγματα μή τι βλαβῇ, ἐμοὶ με-
9 [τὰ τῶν ὑπά]των προνοεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν ἀντὶ στρατηγο[ῦ.]
10 [.....Ὁ δὲ] δ[ῆ]μος τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, ἀμφοτέρων
11 [τῶν ὑπάτων π]ολέμῳ πεπτω[κ]ό[τ]ων, ἐμὲ ὕπα-
12 [τον ἀπέδειξ]εν καὶ τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔχον-
13 [τα ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ] τῇ καταστάσει τῶν δ[η]μοσίων πρα-
14 [γμάτων] ε[ἴλ]ατ[ο.

C. 2.

15 Τοὺς τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν φονεύ]σ[αν]τ[α]ς ἐξώρισα κρί-
16 [σεσιν ἐνδί]κοις τειμω[ρ]ησάμε[ν]ος αὐτῶν τὸ
17 [ἀσέβημα κ]αὶ [με]τὰ ταῦτα αὐτοὺς πόλεμον ἐ-
18 [πιφέροντας τῇ πα]τ[ρ]ίδι δὶς ἐνείκησα παρατάξει.

---

custom of appointing a dictator. (Cf. note [1]) Chap. V. The present formula, however, had been employed long before the disuse of the dictatorship. Cf. Livy III, 4; VI, 19. This extraordinary commission was not restricted to the consuls. Cf. Cæs. *B. C.* I, 5.

[11] Hirtius was killed April 16, 711, and Pansa died of wounds received on the 15th, in the fighting against Antonius. Cæsar Octavianus and Q. Pedius were elected consuls Aug. 19, 711. Dio LVI, 30; C. I. L. I, p. 400=x, 8375; Tac. *Ann.* I, 9; Suet. *Aug.* 100. Vell. (II, 65), says the election was on Sept. 22. But Macrobius, (*Sat.* I, 35, 25), assigns the fact that he was made consul in the month Sextilis, as one of the reasons why the name of that month was changed to August.

[12] C. I. L. I, p. 466 and App. *B. C.* IV, 7, fix the formal ratification of the triumvirate by the people, as having been proposed by the tribune Publius Titius and carried in a public assembly on Nov. 27, 711.

C. 2. [1] An instance of Augustus' avoiding the names of his enemies; here, particularly, Brutus and Cassius.

[2] The *Lex Pedia*, Sept., 711, named from Augustus' colleague in the consulship, constituted an extraordinary tribunal for this class of offenders: the penalty was interdiction from fire and water, *i. e.*, outlawry. Livy, *Ep.* CXX; Vell. II, 69; App. III, 95; Suet. *Aug.* 10; Dio XLVI, 49.

[3] The only instance in the Res Gestae of a palpable distortion of fact. The battles at Philippi, in November, 712, are referred to. For the date see Gardthausen, *Aug.* 2er Th. 1er Halbband, p. 80. In the first fight, Suetonius says (*Aug.* 13), that Cæsar hardly escaped, ill and naked, from his camp to the wing of Antony's army. He was ill, and had to be carried in a litter, according to Plutarch, *Brut.* p. 41. In *Antony*, 22, Plutarch says: "In the first battle, Cæsar was completely routed by Brutus, his camp taken, he himself very narrowly escaping by flight." The decisive defeat of the Republicans was twenty days later.

c. 3.

13 [B]ella terra et mari c[ivilia exter]naque tóto in orbe terrarum
s[uscepi]
14 victorque omnibus [superstitib]us cívibus pepercí. § Exte[r-
nas]
15 gentés, quibus túto [ignosci pot]ui[t, co]nserváre quam ex-
cídere m[alui].
16 Míllia civium Róma[norum adacta] sacrámento meo fuerunt
circiter [quingen]-
17 ta. § Ex quibus dedú[xi in coloni]ás aut remísi in municipia
sua stipen[dis emeri]-
18 tis millia aliquant[um plura qu]am trecenta et iís omnibus
agrós a [me emptos]
19 aut pecuniam pró p[raediis a] me dedí. § Naves cépi sescen-
[tas praeter]
20 eás, si quae minóre[s quam trir]emes fuerunt. §

I, 14. superstitibus, Sk. following Hirschfield, veniam petentibus.

I, 18. aliquantum, B. and W. aliquanto; a me emptos, B. following Bergk, adsignavi.

I, 19. praediis a me, B. and W. praemiis militiae (me in stone might be iae.)

c. 3.

I undertook civil and foreign wars by land and sea throughout the whole world, and as victor I showed mercy to all surviving citizens.[1] Foreign peoples, who could be pardoned with safety, I preferred to preserve rather than to destroy. About five hundred thousand Roman citizens took the military oath of allegiance to me.[2] Of these I have settled in colonies or sent back to their *municipia*,[3] upon the expiration of their terms of service,[4] somewhat over three hundred thousand, and to all these I have given lands purchased by me, or money for farms,[5] out of my own means. I have captured six hundred ships, besides those which were smaller than triremes.[6]

C. 3. [1] The text here is conjectural. Mommsen is almost alone in holding to "surviving," Zumpt, in his edition of 1869, had read "suppliant" (*supplicibus*), Bergk, in 1873, "asking pardon" (*deprecantibus*). Hirschfeld, the same sense, (*veniam petentibus*). Seeck insists on the latter reading, in spite of Mommsen's arguments for his own choice. Augustus did not spare all surviving citizens either after Philippi or Actium, cf. Dio LI, 2: After Actium "of the senators and knights, and other leading men, who in any way had helped Antony, he fined some, many he killed, some he spared." For his conduct after Philippi, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 13. But a coin of 727 (Eckhel VI, 88, Cohen I, p. 66, No. 30), has CÆSAR COS VII CIVIBUS SERVATEIS, "Cæsar for the seventh time consul, the citizens having been preserved." It commemorates the civic crown given to Augustus,

C. 3.

19 [*Πολέμους καὶ κατὰ γῆν*] *καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐμφυ-*
20 [*λίους καὶ ἐξωτικοὺς*] *ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ πολ-*
21 [*λοὺς ἀνεδεξάμην, νεικ*]*ήσας τε πάντων ἐφεισάμην*
22 [*τῶν περιόντων πολειτῶν. τ*]*ὰ ἔθνη, οἷς ἀσφαλὲς ἦν συν-*
23 [*γνώμην ἔχειν, ἔσωσα μ*]*ᾶλ*[*λον*] *ἢ ἐξέκοψα. § Μυριάδες*

II.

1 *Ῥωμαίων στρατ*[*εύ*]*σ*[*ασ*]*αι ὑπ*[*ὸ τὸ*]*ν ὅρκον τὸν ἐμὸν*
2 *ἐγένοντ*[*ο*] *ἐνγὺς π*[*εντήκ*]*ο*[*ντ*]*α· ἐ*[*ξ*]*ὧν κατή*[*γ*]*αγον εἰς*
3 *τὰ*[*ς*] *ἀπο*[*ι*]*κίας ἢ ἀ*[*πέπεμψα εἰς τὰς*] *ἰδία*[*ς πόλεις*] *ἐκ-*
4 [*λυομένους.* . . . . . .
5 . . . . . .
6 . . . . . .
7 . . . . . .
8 . . . . . .

---

cf. c. XXXIV. There are other coins with OB CIVES SERVATOS, "On account of the preservation of the citizens."

[2] This fact is one of the few which the latest text, based on Humann's work, alone establishes. Merivale's comment on the relation of Augustus to the army is noteworthy: "Their hero (Julius Cæsar) discarded the defence of the legions, and a few months witnessed his assassination. Augustus learned circumspection from the failure of his predecessor's enterprise. He organized a military establishment of which he made himself the permanent head; to him every legionary swore personal fidelity; every officer depended upon his direct appointment." (C. XXXII.)

[3] C. 15 states the number colonized at 120,000. The 200,000 over and above the 300,000 here named, are accounted for in the twenty-five legions, 150,000 men in service at his death, leaving only 50,000 as the number who died in service or were dishonorably discharged during the long rule of Augustus. For a study of the strength and disposition of the Roman army at the death of Augustus, cf. Mommsen's R. G., pp. 67–76.

[4] The term of service in 741, was twelve years for praetorian soldiers and sixteen for legionaries, raised in 758 to sixteen and twenty years respectively. Cf. c. 17, N. 2.

[5] The reading of Wölfflin and others (see textual note) would give instead of "lands purchased by me," "I have assigned lands," and instead of "money for farms, out of my own means" "money for reward of service." Bormann, *Schr. Nachl.* p. 18–20, does not think that Augustus meant to state that he paid these charges from private sources, but believes that such a statement would be irrelevant in this section, if true, and an anticipation of cc. 15 and 16.

[6] Sextus Pompeius lost thirty ships at Mylae, and at Naulochus, out of three hundred which he had, eighteen were sunk and the rest, with the exception of seventeen, burned or captured. Cf. App. *B. C.* V, 108, 118, 121. Plut. *Ant.* 68, says

c. 4.

21 [Bis] ováns triumpha[vi, tris egi c]urulis triumphós et appellá-
[tus sum viciens
22 se]mel imperátor. [Cum deinde plú]ris triumphos mihi se-
[natus decrevisset,

I, 22. deinde, B. autem.

c. 4.

Twice I have triumphed in the ovation,[1] and three times in the curule triumph,[2] and I have been twenty-one times saluted as imperator.[3]

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that Augustus took 300 ships at Actium. These captures give, in round numbers, 600 vessels.

C. 4. [1] The ovation was the lesser triumph. The general entered the city clad as an ordinary magistrate, and on foot, or as here, (see the Greek), on horseback, decked with myrtle. Suet. *Aug.* 22, says, these ovations were after Philippi, and the Sicilian war; the former in 714, the latter, Nov. 13, 718. Cf. Dio XLVIII, 31, XLIX, 15; C. I. L. I, p. 461.

[2] In the curule triumph, for important victories, the general was vested in purple, and rode in a four-horse chariot, preceded by the fasces. These three triumphs were celebrated on the 13th, 14th and 15th of August, 725, for the Dalmatian successes, the victory of Actium and the capture of Alexandria. Cf. C. I. L. I, p. 328 and 478. Prop. II, 1, 31, ff, gives an eye-witness' account of the second day. Cf. Livy, *Ep.* CXXXIII; Suet. *Aug.* 22; Verg. *Aen.* VIII; 714, Dio LI, 21.

[3] The acclamation as *imperator*, on account of success in war, must be carefully distinguished from the title used as a prefix to the name and as a mark of perpetual authority. The title imperator was regularly and permanently assumed at the beginning of each reign, after that of Augustus. To him it was formally assigned by the senate, in Jan., 725. C. I. L., V, 1873: *Senatus populusque Romanus imp. Cæsari, divi. Juli. f. cos. quinct. cos. design. sext. imp. sept. republica conservata.* The term thus had a double usage and meaning in such cases.

It soon came about that only the *princeps* could assume the special designation for military successes, no matter whether won by him in person or not. Tacitus says, *Ann.* III, 74: "Tiberius allowed Blaesus to be saluted as imperator by the legions. Augustus conceded the title to some, but Tiberius' allowing it to Blaesus was the last instance." For a discussion of *Imperator* as permanent title, see Gardthausen, p. 527, and Merivale, *History of the Romans*, c. XXXI.

Most of the acclamations of Augustus as imperator can be traced. No Greek inscription records them. A list follows. In the later instances Tiberius was associated.

I. April 15 (?) 711. After battles about Mutina. C. I. L. X, 8375 and Dio XLVI, 38.

II. Not traced.

III. Before 717. Cohen, *Vipsan.* 3, gives a coin with the words *imp. divi Juli f. ter. III Vir v. p. c. M. Agrippa cos. desig.* Agrippa entered his consulship Jan. 1, 717.

c. 4.

9 *Δὶς ἐ[πὶ κέλητος ἐθριάμβευσα], τρὶς [ἐ]φ' ἅρματος. Εἰκο-*
10 *σά[κις καὶ ἅπαξ προσηγορεύθην αὐτο]κράτωρ. Τῆς*

IV. Probably connected with the Sicilian victory and ovation of 718.

V. 720 or 721. Probably connected with Dalmatian victories of one of those years. Cf. C. I. L. V, 526.

VI. From Sept. 2, 723, to 725. On account of Actium. Cf. Oros, VI, 19, 14. C. I. L. X, 3826. *Imp. Cæsari divi f. imp. vi, cos. iii* (723). C. I. L. X, 4830, *imp. Cæsari divi f. cos. v* (725) *imp. vi.*

VII. From 725 to 729. C. I. L. VI, 873: *senatus populusque Romanus imp. Cæsari divi Juli f. cos. quinct.* (*725*) *cos. desig. sex. imp. sept. republica conservata.* On account of Thracian and Dacian victory of M. Licinius Crassus. Dio LI, 25, says: "Sacrifices and festivals were decreed to Cæsar and to Crassus. He did not, however, as some say, take the name imperator. Cæsar alone assumed that."

VIII. From 729 to 734. Two inscriptions at Nismes (Donat. 96, 6) read: *imp. Cæsari divi f. Augusto cos. nonum* (729) *designato decimum, imp. octavum.* Dio LIII, 26, says it was for a Celtic victory of Marcus Vinicius.

IX. From 734 to 739 (?) Coins have the inscription *Augustus Cæsar div. f. Armen. capt. imp. viii.* These commemorate the Armenian expedition of Tiberius in 734. Possibly Augustus took the title on account of the return of the captured standards from Parthia, which he accounted a greater triumph than many a victory in open warfare.

X. 739 (?) to 742. C. I. L. V, 8088 and others: *Augustus imp. x, tribunicia potestate xi.* The latter falls in the years 742, 743. Probably referable to successes in Rhætian war of 739.

XI. 742. Coins (Cohen, n. 147–150) give: *imp. xi.* The causes were the successes of Tiberius in Pannonia in 742. Dio LIV, 31.

XII. 743 to 744. C. I. L., III, 3117: *imp. xii tr. pot. xiii* and VI, 701, 702: *pontifex maximus, imp. xii cos. xi trib. pot. xiv.* Referable to Germanic victory of Drusus. Dio LIV, 33.

XIII. Tiberius Imp. 745. Suet., *Tib.* 9, says that Tiberius received the oration for Pannonian and Dalmatian victories. Cf. Val. 5, 5, 3. Dio LV, 2.

XIV. Tiberius Imp. II. 746–755. Dio LV, 6, refers this acclamation to the Germanic victories of 746. Many coins, milestones and other inscriptions of the period indicated mention this fourteenth acclamation. Cf. C. I. L., II, 3827; 4931; V, 7243; 7817; VI, 1244.

XV. 755. For the Armenian victory of C. Cæsar. Dio Cass. LV, 11. C. I. L. X, 3827; *pont. max., cos. iii* (*xiii*) *imp. xv, tr. p. xxv, p. p.*

XVI. Untraced.

XVII. Tiberius Imp. III. 759. Dio LV, 28, referring to the German expedition of Tiberius in 759, says, "Nothing great was accomplished. Yet both Augustus and Tiberius received the acclamation as imperators." Cf. C. I. L. V. 6416.

23 eis su]persedi [§]. I[tem saepe laur]us deposuí, § in Capi-
[tolio votis, quae]
24 quóque bello nuncu[paveram, solu]tís. § Ob res á [me aut
per legatos]
25 meós auspicís meis terra m[ariqu]e pr[o]spere gestás qu[in-
quagiens et quin]-
26 quiens decrevit senátus supp[lica]ndum esse dís immo[rtali-
bus. Dies autem
27 pe]r quós ex senátús consulto [s]upplicátum est, fuere DC-
[CCI,XXXX. In triumphis
28 meis] ducti sunt ante currum m[e]um regés aut r[eg]um
lib[eri novem. Consul
29 fuer]am terdeciens, c[u]m [scribeb]a[m] haec, [et agebam
se]p[timum et trigensimum annum
30 tribu]niciae potestatis.

I, 23. decrevisset, S. decerneret; item saepe, S. itaque modo; item saepe laurus, B. laurumque potius.

I, 29. agebam, B. following Bergk, eram, and omits annum.

After that, when the senate decreed me many triumphs,[4] I declined them. Likewise I often deposited the laurels in the Capitol[5] in fulfilment of vows which I had also made in battle. On account of enterprises brought to a successful issue on land and sea by me, or by my lieutenants under my auspices, the senate fifty-five times decreed that there should be a thanksgiving to the immortal gods.[6] The number of days, moreover, on which thanksgiving was rendered in accordance with the decree of the senate was eight hundred and ninety.[7] In my triumphs there have been led before my chariot nine kings, or children of kings.[8] When I wrote these words I had been thirteen times consul, and was in the thirty-seventh year of the tribunitial power.[9]

XVIII. Tiberius Imp. IV. Probably for successes in Illyricum.

XIX. Tiberius Imp. V, 762. Dio LVI, 17, refers to the Dalmatian war. A coin of 763–4 (Cohen n. 27) gives: *Ti. Cæsar August. f. imperat. v. pontifex, tribun. potestate xii.*

XX. Tiberius Imp. VI. 765. The cause is not clear, probably for slight successes of Tiberius and Germanicus against the Germans in 763, 764. Dio LVI, 25. A Spanish milestone, C. I. L. II, 4868, gives the data.

XXI. Tiberius Imp. VII. Tac. *Ann.* I, 9, says Augustus was twenty-one times Imperator. A coin of Lyons (Cohen n. 35–38) has: *Ti. Cæsar Augusti f. imperator VII.* This dates from the lifetime of Augustus. Tiberius did not receive a further acclamation.

[4] [a] After his own victory over the Cantabri, that of Varro over the Salassi and that of M. Vinicius over the Germans, in 729. Cf. Florus, IV, 12, 53.

11 [συνκλήτου] . . . . . ψηφισσ. . .
12 . . . . . ων τὴν [δάφνην]
13 . . . . . .
14 . . . . . .
15 . . . . . [Διὰ τὰ πράγ]μ[ατα, δ]
16 [αὐτὸς ἢ διὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐμῶν] κατώρθω-
17 σα, π[εντ]ηκοντάκις [καὶ] πεντά[κις ἐψ]ηφίσατο ἡ
18 σύ[νκλητ]ος θεοῖς δεῖ[ν] θύεσθαι. [Ἡμ]έραι οὖν αὐ-
19 [τα]ι ἐ[κ συ]ν[κλήτου] δ[ό]γματ[ο]ς ἐγένοντο ὀκτα[κ]όσιαι ἐνενή-
20 [κοντα]. Ἐν [τ]οῖς ἐμοῖς [θριάμ]βοις [πρὸ το]ῦ ἐμοῦ ἀρ-
21 μ[ατος βασι]λεῖς ἢ [βασιλέων παῖ]δες [παρήχθ]ησαν
22 ἐννέα. § [Ὑπάτ]ε[υ]ον τρὶς καὶ δέκ[ατο]ν, ὅτε τ[αῦ]τα ἔγραφον,
23 καὶ ἥμη[ν τρια]κ[οστὸ]ν καὶ ἑβδόμ[ον δημαρχ]ικῆ-

III.

1 ἐξουσίας.

II, 16. Before ἐμῶν W. inserts τῶν.

[b] After the restoration of the standards by the Parthians in 734. Cf. Borghesi II, 100 ff.

[c] After the victories of Tiberius in Germany in 746. Dio LV, 6.

[d] After the victories of Tiberius in Pannonia? Dio LVI, 17.

[5] A part of the ordinary ceremonial of the triumph. Cf. Mommsen, *Röm. St.* I, p. 61, 95, Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, II, p. 582.

[6] For a thanksgiving after the expedition of Tiberius into Armenia cf. Dio LIV, 9. Cf. also Cic. *Phil.* XIV, 11, 29. For two other instances, cf. Mommsen, *R. G.*, appendix, pp. 161–178.

[7] Not an incredible number. Thanksgivings were offered in Julius Cæsar's time of fifteen, twenty, forty and fifty days. Cf. Drumann III, 609, No. 84. Fifty days were decreed for the victories of Hirtius, Pansa and Octavian in 711.

[8] The only names traceable are those of Alexander and Cleopatra, the children of Cleopatra and Alexander brother of Jamblichus, King of the Emesenes. Cf. Dio LI, 2, 21. Prop. 2, 1, 33, tells of "Kings with their necks surrounded with golden chains," in the triumph of Aug. 14, 725.

[9] The emperors assumed the consulship only irregularly and for short periods. Their taking of the "tribunitial power" was not through a regular election to the tribuneship, as was the case with the consulship, for Augustus as a patrician was ineligible; but it was the assumption of a power equal to that of the tribunes. This made the emperors sacrosanct, gave them the initiative and the veto, and well subserved the fiction of their being the representatives and champions of the people. For discussions of this power cf. Merivale, *Hist. of Rom.* C. XXXI; Mommsen, *Röm. St.* II, p. 759, 771–777, 833–845

c. 5.

31 [Dictatura]m et apsent[i etipraesenti mihi datam . . . . . a
populo et senatu
32 M. Marce]llo e[t] L. Ar[runtio consulibus non accepi. Non
recusavi in summa
33 frumenti p]enuri[a c]uratio[ne]m an[nonae, qu]am ita ad-
[ministravi, ut . . . . .
34 paucis diebu]s metu et per[i]c[lo quo erat populu]m uni-
v[ersum meis impen-
35 sis liberarem]. § Con[sulatum tum dat]um annuum e[t per-
petuum non
36 accepi.

c. 6.

37 Consulibus M. Vinucio et Q. Lucretio et postea P.] et Cn.
L[entulis et tertium

I, 31. datam..... a populo et senatu, W. nomine populi et senatus oblatam; S. a populo et senatu ultro delatam; et senatu, S. senatuque Romano.

I, 33, 34. ut..... paucis diebus, W. uti intra paucos dies; B. ut paucissimis diebus.

I, 34. quo erat, W. and S. praesenti.

I, 34, 35. meis impensis, W. privata impensa; S. meis sumptibus.

c. 5.

The dictatorship which was offered to me by the people and the senate, both when I was absent and when I was present, in the consulship of Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius, I did not accept.[1] At a time of the greatest dearth of grain I did not refuse the charge of the food supply, which I so administered that in a few days, at my own expense, I freed the whole people from the anxiety and danger in which they then were.[2] The annual and perpetual consulship offered to me at that time I did not accept.[3]

c. 6.

During the consulship of Marcus Vinucius and Quintus Lucretius, and afterwards in that of Publius and Cnaeus Lentulus, and a

Succeeding emperors, down to 268 A. D., dated their accession from the day of assuming the tribunitial power. The wording is peculiar in this sentence. May it not have been that Augustus expected his heir or executors to fill in the exact dates at the time of his death, as suggested in the introduction?

C. 5. [1] Dio, LIV, 1, writes: "In the following year (732) the Tiber again overflowed; statues in the Pantheon were struck by lightning, so that the spear was knocked out of the hand of Augustus. Pestilence was so violent in all Italy that year that there was no one to till the fields; and I think the same was the case in foreign lands. The Romans thought that this plague and famine had come upon them, because they had

c. 5.

2 Αὐτεξούσιόν μοι ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπόντι καὶ παρόντι
3 διδομένην [δ]πό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς συνκλήτου
4 *M*[άρκ]ῳ [*M*]αρκέλλῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ Ἀρρουντίῳ ὑπάτοις
5 ο[ὐκ ἐδ]εξάμην. § Οὐ παρητησάμην ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ
6 [τοῦ] σ[είτ]ου σπάνει τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἣν οὔ-
7 [τως ἐπετήδευ]σα, ὥστ' ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέρα[ις το]ῦ παρόντος
8 φόβου καὶ κι[νδ]ύνου ταῖς ἐμαῖς δαπάναις τὸν δῆμον
9 ἐλευθερῶσα[ι]. Ὑπατείαν τέ μοι τότε δι[δ]ομένην καὶ
10 ἐ[ν]ιαύσιον κα[ὶ δ]ι[ὰ] βίου οὐκ ἐδεξάμην.

c. 6.

11 Ὑπάτοις *M*άρκῳ Οὐινουκίῳ καὶ Κοίντῳ Λ[ουκρ]ητ[ίῳ]
12 καὶ μετὰ τα[ῦ]τα Ποπλίῳ καὶ Ναίῳ Λέντλοις καὶ

not made Augustus consul that year; they wished to name him dictator, and with great show of violence compelled the senate, shut up in the curia, to decree this; threatening to burn them unless they did it. So the senate approached Augustus with the twenty-four fasces (insignia of dictatorship, the consul having only twelve), and begged him to accept the dictatorship and the administration of the food supply. He did indeed undertake the latter charge, and ordered that duumvirs, who had held the praetorship five years before, should be yearly appointed to have charge of the distribution of grain, but would by no means accept the dictatorship. When neither by words nor prayers he could move the people, he tore his garments. For he justly wished to avoid the jealousy and hatred of that name, since moreover, he already held a dignity and power superior to that of the dictatorship." Vell. II, 89, 5, says: "The dictatorship which the people persistently thrust upon him, he as constantly repelled."

The dictatorship had fallen into disuse after 552, and was revived, irregularly, by Sulla in 672. Cæsar made it the basis of his power, being made perpetual dictator shortly before his death. After that event, on motion of Antony, the office was abolished.

[2] In Chap. 15, Augustus states that in 731 he twelve times distributed grain at his own expense. This assumption of the grain administration in 732 was not strictly a charity. The extract from Dio under Note 1, gives some of the details. It is probable that from this time the tribute in kind was turned into the *fiscus*, or imperial treasury, instead of into the *ærarium*, or treasury of the senate, as heretofore. This new task of the imperial government involved not merely the gratuitous distribution of grain to the ordinary Roman citizens (after 752 even to senators and knights), but also the providing of a sufficient supply of grain for all purchasers at a minimum price, often below the market value. It appears that grain tickets "tessaræ frumentariæ" were distributed to the citizens entitled to free grain, and then, to assist the vast multitude of strangers, freedmen, and *attachés* of the great houses, money tickets, "tessaræ nummariæ" were given out. Cf. Mommsen, *Röm. St.*, II, 992.

[3] Vell. II, 89; Suet. *Aug.* 26; Dio, LIV, 10. Dio's statement that Augustus in 735 accepted the consular power (differing from the consulship as the tribunitial power from the tribuneship. Cf. Note 9, Chap. 4.) for life, cannot be correct in face of the

38 Paullo Fabio Maximo et Q. Tuberone senatu populoq]u[e
Romano consen-
39 tientibus]. . . . . .
40 . . . . . .
41 . . . . . .
42 . . . . . .

c. 7.

43 . . . . . .
44 . . . . . [Princeps senatus fui usque ad
eum diem, quo scrips]eram [haec,

third time in that of Paullus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Tubero, by the consent of the senate and the Roman people I was voted the sole charge of the laws and of morals, with the fullest power;[1] but I accepted the proffer of no office which was contrary to the customs of the country.[2] The measures of which the senate at that time wished me to take charge, I accomplished in virtue of my possession of the tribunitial power.[3] In this office I five times associated with myself a colleague, with the consent of the senate.[4]

c. 7.

For ten years in succession I was one of the triumvirs for organizing the commonwealth.[1] Up to that day on which I write these words

other two authorities cited, who corroborate Augustus here. Chapter 8 tells of two special assumptions of the consular power for the taking of the second and third census.

C. 6. [1] Before the restoration of the text of this inscription, in this case depending entirely upon the remains at Apollonia, it used to be taught that Augustus accepted the formal superintendence of laws and morals. And there seemed to be good ground for such belief. Horace, c., 740 in *Carm. IV*, 5, v. 22, says, "Morality and law have subdued foul wrong;" and in *Ep.*, II, 1, v. 1, "Since thou hast protected Italy with arms, adorned her with morality, and improved her with laws." Ovid wrote, *Tristia*, II, 233: "The city wearies thee with the care of laws and morals, which thou desirest should be like thy own." Suet. *Aug.* 27, says: "He accepted the control of laws and morals for life, as he had the tribunitial power; and in the exercise of this control, altho' without the honor of the censorship, he yet thrice took the census of the people, the first and third times with a colleague, the second time alone." Dio, LIV, 10, 30, says that in 735 and 742 Augustus accepted this office for periods of five years. But the inscription shows that Suetonius and Dio were wrong, and that a natural but incorrect inference had been drawn from the poets.

This power was offered to Augustus three times: in 735, 736 and 734, and as often refused. Why was it offered, and why refused? Cf. Dio, LIV, 10; Vell. II, 91, 92; Suet. *Aug.* 19. While Augustus was in Asia in 735 M. Egnatius Rufus, who is painted as a sort of Catiline, tried to obtain the consulship, and even to supplant

13 τρίτον Παύλλῳ Φαβίῳ Μαξίμῳ καὶ Κοίν[τῳ] Του-
14 βέρωι § τῆς [τε σ]υνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ
15 Ῥωμαίων ὁμολογ[ο]ύντων, ἵν[α ἐπιμε]λητὴς
16 τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐ[πὶ τῇ με]γίστῃ
17 [ἐξ]ουσ[ίᾳ μ]ό[νο]ς χειροτονηθῶ §, ἀρχὴν οὐδε-
18 μ[ίαν] πα[ρὰ τὰ πά]τρ[ια] ἔ[θ]η διδομένην ἀνεδε-
19 ξάμην· § ἃ δὲ τότε δι' ἐμοῦ ἡ σύνκλητος οἰ-
20 κονομεῖσθαι ἐβούλετο, τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξο[υ]-
21 οίας ὧν ἐτέλε[σα. Κ]αὶ ταύτης αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς
22 συνάρχοντα [αὐτ]ὸς ἀπὸ τῆς συνκλήτου π[εν]-
23 τάκις αἰτήσας [ἔλ]αβον.

IV. c. 7.

1 Τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγενόμην δημοσίων πραγμάτων
2 κατορθωτὴς συνεχέσιν ἔτεσιν δέκα. § Πρῶτον

III, 14. Last word Apoll., τοῦ, Auc. τῶν.

Augustus, and stirred up sedition in the attempt. This so alarmed the senate and people that they offered Augustus the plenary power of legislation and coercion. The repetition of the offer in 736 was from a similar cause. The reason for that of 743 is unknown. The power thus offered was analogous to the decemvirate, or the Sullan dictatorship. Cf. Mommsen, *Röm., St.*, II, 686.

[2] This sentence answers the second question asked in Note 1. It was part of Augustus' policy to seem to keep wholly within the lines of the constitution. Hence his refusal to accept any extraordinary office. Yet his tribunitial power was new and extraordinary. Tacitus' comment is caustic, *Ann.*, III, 56: "That specious title (the tribunitial power) importing nothing less than sovereign power, was invented by Augustus at a time when the name of king or dictator was not only unconstitutional but universally detested. And yet a new name was wanted to overtop the magistrates and the forms of the constitution."

[3] Dio, LIV, 16, names three laws promulgated by Augustus in 736: one took cognizance of bribery by candidates for office; a second dealt with extravagance; and a third was for the encouragement of matrimony.

[4] [a] in 736 Agrippa was associated with Augustus for five years. Cf. Dio, LIV, 12; Vell. II, 90; Tac. *Ann.* III, 56. [b] in 741 Agrippa again for five years. Cf. Dio, LIV, 12, 28. [c] in 748 Tiberius for five years. Cf. Dio, LV, 9; Vell. II, 99; Suet. *Tib.* 9, 10, 11. [d] in 757 Tiberius for ten years. Cf. Dio, LV, 13; Vell. II, 103; Tac. *Ann.*, I, 3, 10. [e] in 766 Tiberius for an indefinite time. Cf. Dio, LVI, 28.

C. 7. [1] Suet. *Aug.* 27: "He administered the triumvirate for organizing the commonwealth through ten years." Cf. C. I. L. I, p. 461 and p. 466. The first triumvirate lasted from Nov. 27, 711, to Dec. 31, 716; the second from Jan. 1, 717, to Dec. 31, 721. But cf. c. 34, N. 1.

45 per annos quadraginta. Pontifex maximus, augur, quin-
decimviru]m sacris [faciundis,
46 septemvirum epulonum, frater arvalis, sodalis Titius, fetiali]s
fui.

II. c. 8.

1 Patriciórum numerum auxí consul quintum iussú populi et
senátús. § Sena-
2 tum ter légi. et In consulátú sexto cénsum populi conlegá M.
Agrippá égí. §

I have been *princeps* of the senate through forty years.[2] I have been *pontifex maximus*,[3] augur,[4] a member of the quindecemviral college of the sacred rites,[5] of the septemviral college of the banquets,[6] an Arval Brother,[7] a member of the Titian sodality,[8] and a fetial.[9]

c. 8.

In my fifth consulship, by order of the people and the senate, I increased the number of the patricians.[1] Three times I have revised the list of the senate.[2] In my sixth consulship, with Marcus Agrippa as colleague, I made a census of the people. I performed the lustration

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[2] Cf. Dio, LIII, 1. This title had been conferred upon the senior senator who had served as censor. Its only privilege was the right of speaking first in debate. The honor had fallen into abeyance with the death of Catulus in 694. It is readily seen how the revival of such a title and of the right to express his views before any other senator, gave Augustus a quasi-constitutional initiative in the senate. Gradually the title dropped its second part, and "prince" began to have something of its modern significance. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* III, 53, for Tiberius' view of its meaning.

Augustus' notation of time here, "through forty years," is similar to the "thirty-seventh year of the tribunitial power" in Chap. IV, or "the seventy-sixth year" of Chap. 36.

[3] He was made *pontifex* in 706 by Julius Cæsar. Cf. Cic. *Phil.* V, 17, 46; Vell. II, 59. For his taking the office of *pontifex maximus* cf. c. 10, N. 3.

[4] The date of Augustus' assumption of the augurate is discussed by Drumann, IV, 250. Coins are the chief witnesses, and their testimony is confused. The date probably was 713 or 714.

[5] A coin of Augustus (Cohen, *Jul.* 60; *Aug.* 88) has *imp. Cæsar divi f. III vir iter. r. p. c. cos. iter. et tert desig.*, which fixes the time as between 717 and 720; it has also the tripod, the symbol of the quindecemvirate.

[6] We can say only that Augustus received this dignity before 738; for there is a coin of that year showing the *simpulum*, the *lituus* and the tripod, the symbols respectively of the three foregoing offices, and the *patera*, or bowl, that of the septemviral office. The four colleges thus associated are the chief ones. Cf. Chap. 9.

3 ἀξιώματος τόπον ἔσχον τῆς συνκλήτου ἄχρι
4 ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς ταῦτα ἔγραφον, ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσ-
5 σαράκοντα. § Ἀρχιερεύς, § αὔγουρ, § τῶν δεκαπέντε ἀν-
6 δρῶν τῶν ἱεροποιῶν, § τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν ἱεροποι-
7 ῶν, § ἀ[δε]λφὸς ἀρουᾶλις, § ἑταῖρος Τίτιος, § φητιᾶλις.

c. 8.

8 Τῶν [πατ]ρικίων τὸν ἀριθμὸν εὔξησα πέμπτον
9 ὕπατ[ος ἐπιτ]αγῇ τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῆς συνκλή-
10 του. § [Τὴν σύ]νκλητον τρὶς ἐπέλεξα. § Ἔκτον ὕπα-
11 τος τὴν ἀπ[ο]τείμησεν τοῦ δήμου συνάρχον-
12 [τ]α ἔχων Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν ἔλαβον, ἥτις ἀπο-

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[7] The name of Augustus is twice found in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, once in May, 767, in recording a vote, and in Dec., 767, in the record of the nomination of his successor.

[8] Tacitus says the Titian Sodality was instituted by Titus Tatius for keeping up the Sabine ritual. Cf. *Ann.* I, 54. The record here is all that is known of Augustus' connection with it.

[9] The fetials had charge of the formalities in declaring war and peace. Dio L, 4, says that Augustus went through the old-fashioned ceremonies in declaring war against Cleopatra.

These three colleges had fallen into abeyance in the time of Cicero. Augustus undoubtedly revived them. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 31. Such restoration, and religious conservatism in general, as even in the case of Domitian, marks the policy of the emperors for two hundred years, and was one of their favorite methods of posing simply as restorers of the good old times.

C. 8. [1] In 725. The Saenian law, passed by the people in 724, authorized this proceeding, and the senate's decree followed. Hence the order, "people and senate." Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XI, 25; Dio, LII, 42. An earlier creation of patricians is assigned by Dio to the year 721. But he is probably mistaken, as Tacitus, in the passage just noted, says that Claudius was obliged to create more patricians, "because the number had declined even after being recruited by the dictator Cæsar under the Cassian law, and by Augustus the *princeps* under the Saenian law." Such a creation was not a right of the principate. Cæsar and Augustus did it by special authorization of people and senate. Claudius did it in virtue of his censorship, and this status continued till Domitian absorbed the censorship in the principate, and assumed the right as a permanent one.

[2] During most of the republican history the senate numbered, ideally, three hundred. In Cicero's time it had over four hundred members. Julius Cæsar raised it to about nine hundred. Suet. *Aug.*, 35, says: "By two separate scrutinies he (Augustus) reduced to their former number and splendor the senate, which had been swamped by a disorderly crowd; for they were now more than a thousand, and some

3 Lústrum post annum alterum et quadragensimum féc[i]. § Quó lústro cívi-
4 um Románórum censa sunt capita quadragiens centum millia et sexa-
5 g[i]nta tria millia. [§] [Iteru]m consulari cum imperio lústrum
6 [s]ólus féci C. Censorin[o et C.] Asinio cos. § Quó lústro censa sunt
7 cívium Romanóru[m capita] quadragiens centum millia et ducen-
8 ta triginta tria m[illia. Tertiu]m consulári cum imperio lústrum
9 conlegá Tib. Cae[sare filio feci] § Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio cos.
10 Quó lústro ce[nsa sunt civium Ro]mánórum capitum quadragiens
11 centum mill[ia et nongenta tr]iginta et septem millia. §
12 Legibus noví[s latis complura e]xempla maiorum exolescentia

II, 9. S. inserts meo after filio.
II, 12. complura, B. et multa.

after forty-one years. In this lustration the number of Roman citizens was four million and sixty-three thousand.[3] Again assuming the consular power in the consulship of Gaius Censorinus and Gaius Asinius, I alone performed the lustration. At this census the number of Roman citizens was four million, two hundred and thirty thousand.[4] A third time, assuming the consular power in the consulship of Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius, with Tiberius Cæsar as colleague, I performed the lustration. At this lustration the number of Roman citizens was four million, nine hundred and thirty-seven thousand.[5] By new legislation I have restored many customs of our ancestors which had

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of them very mean persons, who, after Cæsar's death, had been chosen by dint of interest and bribery, so that they had the name of Orcini among the people." They were also called Charonites, because they owed their elevation to the last will of Cæsar, who had gone into Orcus to Charon. Dio, XL, 48, 63, tells of freedmen in the senate and, XLIII, 22, of a private soldier; Gell., XV, 4, of a muleteer, cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* VII, 199.

Dio, LII, 42, cf. LIII, 1, tells of the first scrutiny, in 725–6. A hint from Augustus was enough to cause the withdrawal first of sixty, then of one hundred and forty senators. He also tells, LIV, 13, 14, of a further revision in 736, by which the num-

13 [τείμη]σις μετὰ [δύο καὶ] τεσσαραχοστὸν ἐνιαυ-
14 τὸν [σ]υνε[κ]λείσθη. Ἐν ᾗ ἀποτειμήσει Ῥωμαίων
15 ἐτει[μήσ]α[ντο] κεφαλαὶ τετρακό[σιαι ἑ]ξήκον-
16 τα μυ[ριάδες καὶ τρισχίλιαι. Δεύτερον δ]πατι-
17 κῇ ἐξ[ουσίᾳ μόνος Γαίῳ Κηνσωρίνῳ καὶ]
18 Γαίῳ [Ἀσινίῳ ὑπάτοις τὴν ἀποτείμησιν ἔλαβον·]
19 ἐν [ᾗ] ἀπ[οτειμήσει ἐτειμήσαντο Ῥωμαί]-
20 ων τετ[ρακόσιαι εἴκοσι τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τ]ρι[σ]-
21 χίλιοι. Κ[αὶ τρίτον ὑπατικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τὰς ἀποτειμή]-
22 σε[ι]ς ἔλα[βο]ν, [ἔχω]ν [συνάρχοντα Τιβέριον]
23 Καίσαρα τὸν υἱόν μο[υ Σέξτῳ Πομπηίῳ καὶ]

V.

1 Σέξτῳ Ἀππουληίῳ ὑπάτοις· ἐν ᾗ ἀποτειμήσει
2 ἐτειμήσαντο Ῥωμαίων τετρακόσιαι ἐνενήκοντα
3 τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ ἑπτακισχείλιοι. § Εἰσαγαγὼν καινοὺς νόμους πολλὰ ἤδη τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθῶν κα-
4
5 ταλυόμενα διωρθωσάμην καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν

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ber was brought down to six hundred. He assigns a third sifting to 743 (LIV. 35), and a fourth to 757 (LV, 13). Mommsen, however, is inclined to connect the three revisions of Augustus with the censuses of 726, 746 and 767, and to regard those of 736 and 757 as extraordinary, and therefore not named by Augustus, in his desire to appear entirely within constitutional lines. Cf. Mommsen, *R. G.*, p. 35.

[3] Suetonius evidently depends on this inscription when he says, *Aug.* 27: "Three times he took the census of the Roman people, the first and third times with a colleague, the second time alone." This first census was in 725–6. Cf. Dio, LII, 42; LIII, 1; C. I. L. IX, 422, *imp. Cæsar VI, M. Agrippa II cos.; idem censoria potestate lustrum fecerunt.*

The lustrum was strictly the expiatory offering made at the close of the census. The census had not been taken for forty-one years. The number of Roman citizens of military age in 684 had been given as but 450,000. This census of 726 reported 4,063,000. Probably the vast apparent increase rose from the fact of the earlier enumeration counting only such as presented themselves before the censors in the city, while at the later time the citizens throughout the empire were counted. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III, 461, estimates a total free citizenship of more than 17,000,000. The total population of the empire at this time, including citizens, allies, slaves and freedmen, has been estimated at 85,000,000. Cf. Merivale, *Rom.* cc. XXX, XXXIX.

The Greek of the inscription here reads erroneously 4,603,000.

[4] In 746. The result, 4,233,000, shows a gain of 170,000.

[5] In 767. Just before the death of Augustus. Result, 4,937,000; gain since 746, 704,000.

13 iam ex nost[ro usu reduxi et ipse] multárum rér[um exem]-
pla imi-
14 tanda pos[teris tradidi.

c. 9.

15 Vota pro valetudine mea suscipi per cons]ulés et sacerdotes
qu[into]
16 qu[oque anno senatus decrevit. Ex iis] votís s[ae]pe fecerunt
vívo
17 *me* [ludos aliquotiens sacerdotu]m quattuor amplissima collé-
18 [gia, aliquotiens consules. Privat]im etiam et múnicipatim
úniver*si*
19 [cives sacrificaverunt sempe]r apud omnia pulvínária pró
vale-
20 [tudine mea.

c. 10.

21 Nomen meum senatus consulto inc]lusum est in saliáre carmen
et sacrosan-

II, 13. reduxi, B. sanxi; S. revocavi.
II, 15. suscipi, B. suscipere,
II, 16. iis, S. quibus.
II, 17. me ludos aliquotiens, W. mihi ludos interdum; aliquotiens, B. votivos modo.
II, 18. aliquotiens, W. interdum; aliquotiens consules, B. modo consules ejus anni.
II, 19. sacrificaverunt, B. sacrificia; W. supplicaverunt; semper, B. concorditer; W. unanimiter.
II, 20. B. adds fecerunt.

now begun to fall into disuse, and I have myself also committed to posterity many examples worthy of imitation.[6]

c. 9.

The senate decreed that every fifth year vows for my good health should be performed by the consuls and the priests. In accordance with these vows games have been often celebrated during my lifetime, sometimes by the four chief colleges, sometimes by the consuls.[1] In private, also, and as municipalities, the whole body of citizens have constantly sacrificed at every shrine for my good health.[2]

c. 10.

By a decree of the senate my name has been included in the Salian

πραγμάτων μείμημα ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς μετέπει-
τα παρέδωκα.

C. 9.

Εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἀναλαμβάνειν
διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ἱερέων καθ' ἑκάστην πεν-
τετηρίδα ἐψηφίσατο ἡ σύνκλητος. ἐκ τού-
των τῶν εὐχῶν πλειστάκις ἐγένοντο θέαι,
τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῆς συναρχίας τῶν τεσσάρων ἱερέ-
ων, τοτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων. Καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ καὶ
κατὰ πόλεις σύνπαντες οἱ πολεῖται ὁμοθυμα-
δ[ὸν] συνεχῶς ἔθυσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σω[τ]ηρίας.

C. 10.

Τὸ ὄν[ομ]ά μου συνκλήτου δόγματι ἐνπεριελή-

[6] Suetonius, *Aug.* 34, relates his endeavors to compel matrimony. In Chap. 89, Suetonius writes: "In reading Greek or Latin authors he paid particular attention to precepts and examples which might be useful in public or private life. These he used to extract verbatim, and give to his domestics, or send to the commanders of the armies, the governors of the provinces, or the magistrates of the city, when any of them seemed to stand in need of admonition. He likewise read whole books to the senate, and frequently made them known to the people by his edicts; such as the orations of Quintus Metellus 'For the Encouragement of Marriage,' and those of Rutilius 'On the Style of Building;' to show the people that he was not the first who had promoted those objects, but that the ancients likewise had thought them worthy of their attention." Cf. Livy, *Ep.* LIX; Gell., I, 6.

C. 9. [1] These games were first held in 726, and every fourth year thereafter. The expression "every fifth year" counts the year of the games as the fifth of the old series and also the first of the new. The consuls, or rather the consul Agrippa, Augustus not holding games in his own honor, celebrated the games of 726, the pontifices those of 730, the augurs those of 734, the quindecemvirs those of 738, and the septemvirs those of 742. Cf. c. 7, N. 6. These games are mentioned by Dio, LIII, 1, 2; LIV, 19; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII, 48, 158; Suet. *Aug.* 44. They came to a close with the life of Augustus. We do not hear of them in connection with any subsequent emperor. Vows for his good health had a special fitness, for according to Suetonius, *Aug.* LXXXI, he was almost an invalid. "During his whole course of life he suffered at times dangerous fits of sickness. He was subject to fits of sickness at stated times every year, for about his birthday he was commonly indisposed. In the beginning of spring he was attacked with an inflammation of the midriff; and when the wind was southerly, with a cold in his head. By all these complaints his constitution was so shattered that he could not readily bear heat or cold."

[2] Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 59 and 98; Hor. *Carm.* IV, 5, 33; Dio, LI, 19.

22 [ctus ut essem . . . . . et ut q]uoa[d] víverem, tribúnicia potestás mihi
23 [esset, lege sanctum est. Pontif]ex maximus ne fierem in víví [c]onle-
24 [gae locum, populo id sace]rdotium deferente mihi, quod pater meu[s
25 habuit, recusavi. Cepi id] sacerdotium aliquod post annós eó mor-
26 [tuo qui civilis motus o]ccasione occupaverat [§], cuncta ex Italia
27 [ad comitia mea . . . . tanta mu]ltitudine, quanta Romae nun[q]uam
28 [antea fuisse fertur, coeunte] P. Sulpicio C. Valgio consulibu[s] §.

c. II.

29 [Aram Fortunae reduci iuxta? ae]dés Honoris et Virtutis ad portam
30 [Capenam pro reditu meo se]nátus consacravit, in qua ponti-

II, 22. sacrosanctus ut essem ..... W. sacrosancta ut esset persona mea, or sacrosancta potestate ut essem.
II, 25. habuit, B. habuerat; cepi id, B. quod.
II, 26. qui civilis motus, B, suscepi qui id tumultus.
II, 27. ad comitia mea..... B. propter mea comitia, or comitiorum caussa; Sk. inserts coeunte before ad.
II, 28. fertur, Sk. memoriae proditur; omits coeunte.
II, 29. reduci, B. reducis.

hymn,[1] and it has been enacted by law that I should be sacrosanct, and that as long as I live I should be invested with the tribunitial power.[2] I refused to be made *pontifex maximus* in the place of a colleague still living, when the people tendered me that priesthood which my father held. I accepted that office after several years, when he was dead who had seized it during a time of civil disturbance; and at the comitia for my election, during the consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Gaius Valgius, so great a multitude assembled as, it is said, had never before been in Rome.[3]

c. 11.

Close to the temples of Honor and Virtue, near the Capena gate, the senate consecrated in honor of my return an altar to Fortune the Restorer, and upon this altar it ordered that the *pontifices* and the Vestal

17 φθη εἰ[ς τοὺ]ς σαλίων ὕμνους. καὶ ἵνα ἱερὸς ὦ
18 διὰ [βίο]υ [τ]ε τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἔχω ἐξουσίαν,
19 νό[μῳ ἐκ]υρώθη. § Ἀρχιερωσύνην, ἣν ὁ πατήρ
20 [μ]ου [ἐσχ]ήκει τοῦ δήμου μοι καταφέροντος
21 εἰς τὸν τοῦ ζῶντος τόπον, οὐ προσεδεξά-
22 μ[η]ν: § [ἣ]ν ἀρχιερατείαν μετά τινας ἐνιαυτοὺς

VI.

1 ἀποθανόντος τοῦ προκατειληφότος αὐ-
2 τὴν ἐν πολειτικαῖς ταραχαῖς, ἀνείληφα, εἰς
3 τὰ ἐμὰ ἀρχαιρέσια ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσού-
4 του πλήθους συνεληλυθότος, ὅσον οὐδεὶς
5 ἔνπροσθεν ἱστόρησεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης γεγονέναι Πο-
6 πλίῳ Σουλπικίῳ καὶ Γαίῳ Ὀὐαλγίῳ ὑπάτοις.

C. II.

7 Βωμὸν Τύχης σωτηρίου ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπανόδου
8 πρὸς τῇ Καπήνῃ πύλῃ ἡ σύνκλητος ἀφιέρωσεν·

C. 10. [1] Dio writes of the year 725, LI, 20: "When letters were brought about Parthian affairs it was decreed that he should be named in the hymns exactly as were the gods." Tiridates, a Parthian pretender, sought the aid of Augustus. Cf. Chap. 32, and Dio, LI, 18. Augustus balanced Tiridates against Phraates, the legitimate monarch, who sent an embassy, and gave his son to Rome as a hostage.

[2] In 718, when Lepidus had been overthrown, the tribunitial power had been given to Octavian, as formerly to Julius, for life. Inviolability of person was one of the privileges of the tribunate. Cf. Oros. VI, 18, 34; Dio, XLIX, 15; LI, 18; LIII, 32. These two later statements relating to the years 724 and 731, Mommsen thinks have to do, the former with the extension of the tribunitial power beyond the city, and the latter to the making it annual, as well as perpetual, so that the years of the principate could be reckoned by it. Cf. Chap. 4, note 9. Cf. also App. *B. C.* V, 132, and for a discussion of the tribunitial power as an expression of the principate, cf. Mommsen, *Röm. St.* II, 833, ff.

Wölfflin, cf. textual note, suggests, to fill the gap confessedly left by Mommsen's emendation, a reading which would be translated "that my person should be sacrosanct."

[3] Augustus here characteristically avoids the name of Lepidus. The latter "in the confusion and tumult had seized the supreme pontificate," cf. Livy, *Ep.* CXVII, "by craft," cf. Velleius II, 63; "Antony transferred the election of the pontifex maximus from the people to the priests again, and through them initiated Lepidus, almost entirely neglecting the customs of the fathers." Cf. Dio, XLIT, 53. Lepidus dying in 741, cf. Dio, LIV, 27, Augustus entered upon the office Mar. 6, 742. Cf.

31 [fices et virgines Vestales anni]versárium sacrificium facere
32 [iussit die, quo consulibus Q. Luc]retio et [M. Vinuci]o in urbem ex
33 [Syria redi, et diem Augustali]a ex [c]o[gnomine nost]ro appellavit.

c. 12.

34 [Senatus consulto eodem tempor]e pars [praetorum et tri]bunorum
35 [plebi cum consule Q. Lucret]io et princi[pi]bus [viris ob]viam mihi
36 mis[s]a e[st in Campan]ia[m, qui] honos [ad hoc tempus] nemini prae-
37 ter [m]e es[t decretus. Cu]m ex H[ispa]niá Gal[liaque, rebus in his p]rovincís prosp[e]-
38 re [gest]i[s], R[omam redi] Ti. Ne[r]one P. Qui[ntilio consulibu]s [§], áram
39 [Pácis A]u[g]ust[ae senatus pro] redi[t]ú meó co[nsacrari censuit] ad cam-

II, 32. B. inserts eo before die.
II, 33. redi, B. redieram.
II, 36. S. inserts ante after honos.

virgins should offer sacrifice yearly on the anniversary of the day on which I returned into the city from Syria, in the consulship of Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinucius, and it called the day the Augustalia, from our cognomen.[1]

c. 12.

By a decree of the senate at the same time a part of the prætors and tribunes of the people with the consul Quintus Lucretius and leading citizens were sent into Campania to meet me, an honor which up to this time has been decreed to no one but me.[1] When I returned from Spain and Gaul after successfully arranging the affairs of those provinces, in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius, the senate voted that in honor of my return an altar of the Augustan Peace should be consecrated in the Campus Martius, and upon this altar it

C. I. L., I. p. 387. It was unlawful to deprive a living man of this office, cf. App., *B. C.*, V, 131.

C. 11. [1] October 12, 735. In C. I. L. I. p. 404, is found an inscription of that date: *Feriae ex senatus consulto, quod eo die imp. Cæsar Augustus ex transmarinis*

πρὸς ᾧ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας, ἐνιαύσιον θυσίαν ποιεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ὑπάτοις Κοίντῳ Λουκρητίῳ καὶ Μάρκῳ Οὐινουκίῳ ἐκ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανεληλύθει[ν], τήν τε ἡμέραν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπωνυμίας προσηγόρευσεν Αὐγουστάλια.

C. 12.

Δόγματι σ[υ]νκλήτου οἱ τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς ἄρξαντε[ς σ]ὺν μέρει στρατηγῶν καὶ δημάρχων μετὰ ὑπ[ά]του Κοίντου Λουκρητίου ἐπέμφθησάν μοι ὑπαντήσοντες μέχρι Καμπανίας, ἥτις τειμὴ μέχρι τούτου οὐδὲ ἑνὶ εἰ μὴ ἐμοὶ ἐψηφίσθη. § Ὅτε ἐξ Ἱσπανίας καὶ Γαλατίας, τῶν ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἐπαρχείαις πραγμάτων κατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς τελεσθέντων, εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθον § Τιβερίῳ [Νέ]ρωνι καὶ Ποπλίῳ Κοιντιλίῳ ὑπάτοις,

VII.

βωμὸν E[ἰρ]ήνης Σεβαστῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπανό-

provincis urbem intravit araq (ue) Fortunae reduci constituta. There are also gold and silver coins (Eckhel VI, 100; Cohen, *Aug.* nos. 102–108) with the inscription, *Fortunae reduci, Cæsari Augusto senatus populusque Romanus,* Dio, LIV, 10, tells that Augustus after having arranged matters in Sicily, Greece, Asia and Syria, returned to Rome, and that many honors were decreed to him, but that he would accept none of them, "but that an altar should be consecrated to Fortune the Restorer, that the day should be accounted a feast day, and that it should be called the Augustalia."

The location near the Porta Capena was chosen, because it was through that gate Augustus would enter the city, coming by the Appian Way from Brundisium. The altar was dedicated on Dec. 15, C. I. L. X, 8375. Cf. Dio, LI, 19; App. *B. C.* II, 106.

C. 12. [1] Dio, LIV, 10, relates that in this year there were great tumults in connection with the consular comitia, and no election was possible. In consequence of this the senate sent messengers to Augustus urging him to deal with the trouble. Q. Lucretius, one of the delegates, was named consul by Augustus on the spot where they met. It is Mommsen's idea (*R. G.*, p. 48) that the story of Dio, and the statement of Augustus relate to the same event, and that Augustus was not willing to admit that so late in his reign, such disturbances could be, and that he therefore conveys the impression that what was really an appeal for aid was rather an embassy of honor. This Mommsen thinks quite in keeping with the general character and method of Augustus. Bormann, on the other hand (*Schr. Nach.*, p. 29), sees no conflict in the two accounts. He believes that Dio narrates truthfully enough an earlier deputation sent to Augustus, possibly at

40 [pum Martium, in qua ma]gistratús et sac[erdotes et virgines]
V[est]á[les
41 anniversarium sacrific]ium facer[e iussit.

c. 13.

42 Ianum] Quirin[um, quem cl]aussum ess[e maiores nostri
voluer]unt,
43 [cum p]er totum i[mperium po]puli Roma[ni terra marique
es]set parta vic-
44 [torii]s pax, cum pr[ius, quam] náscerer, [a condita] u[rb]e
bis omnino clausum
45 [f]uisse prodátur m[emori]ae, ter me princi[pe senat]us
claudendum esse censui[t.

c. 14.

46 Fil]ios meos, quós iuv[enes mì]hi eripuit for[tuna], Gaium
et Lucium Caesares

II, 42. S. inserts tum after quem.

ordered the magistrates and priests and vestal virgins to offer sacrifices on each anniversary.[2]

c. 13.

Janus Quirinus, which it was the purpose of our fathers to close when there was peace won by victory[1] throughout the whole empire of the Roman people on land and sea, and which, before I was born, from the foundation of the city, was reported to have been closed twice in all,[2] the senate three times ordered to be closed while I was *princeps*.[3]

c. 14.

My sons, the Cæsars Gaius and Lucius, whom fortune snatched from me in their youth,[1] the senate and Roman people, in order to do

Athens, some time before his return, and that Lucretius was named consul there by Augustus. Then, some time later, the deputation of honor, as recorded in the inscription, was sent into Campania.

[2] That this annual sacrifice was instituted July 4, 741, appears from C. I. L., I, 395. *Feriae ex. s. c. quodeo die ara Pacis Augustæ in campo Martio constituta est Nerone et Varo cos.* Cf. Fasti of Præneste, Jan. 30, C. I. L., I, 313, for day of the actual dedication; also Ovid, *Fasti* I, 709; Dio, LIV, 25.

This altar was probably on the Flaminian Way by which Augustus returned from Gaul.

δου ἀφιερωθῆναι ἐψηφίσατο ἡ σύνκλητος ἐν πε-
δίῳ Ἄρεως, πρὸς ᾧ τούς τε ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοὺς
ἱερεῖς τάς τε ἱερείας ἐνιαυσίους θυσίας ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν.

C. 13.

Πύλην Ἐνυάλιον, ἣν κεκλῖσθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἠθέ-
λησαν εἰρηνευομένης τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμάοις πάσης γῆς τε
καὶ θαλάσσης, πρὸ μὲν ἐμοῦ, ἐξ οὗ ἡ πόλις ἐκτίσθη,
τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι δὶς μόνον κεκλεῖσθαι ὁμολογεῖ-
ται, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνος τρὶς ἡ σύνκλητος ἐψη-
φίσατο κλεισθῆναι.

C. 14.

Υἱούς μου Γάιον καὶ Λεύκιον Καίσ[α]ρας, οὓς νεανίας ἀ-

C. 13. [1] The exact conditions necessary for the closing of the temple, viz., "peace won by victories" were first made known in 1882 by this perfected text of the *Res Gestæ*.

[2] Cf. Livy, I, 19; Varro, V, 165. The temple of Janus (or as the Romans called it, Janus, without the word temple,) (cf. Latin text and Livy, l. c., and Horace, Carm, IV, 15, 9,) had been closed first under Numa and again after the first Punic War.

[3] Augustus first closed it in 725, after Actium. Cf. Livy, l. c.; Dio, LI, 20; Vell., II, 38; Victor, *De Viris Ill.*, LXXIX, 6; Plut. *De Fort. Rom.*, 9; Oros. VI, 20, 8. C. I. L. I, p. 384, supplies the day, January 11. In 728 it was opened again, on account of the war with the Cantabri. Cf. Dio, LIII, 26, Plutarch, l. c. A second time it was closed in 729, cf. Dio, l. c.; Oros., VI, 21, 1. The time of its next opening cannot be determined; but in all probability it was reopened that very year, on account of the Arabian campaign. Dio, LIV, 36, records that in 744 the Senate decreed that it should be closed, but that a Dacian rebellion interfered. But Dio must be mistaken, for Drusus was then in the midst of his German campaign. But after the campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius in Germany, closed in 746, up to 753, when Gaius Cæsar started for Armenia, the temple might well have been closed. Parts of Dio are lost here, which may have mentioned such closing. The birth of Jesus Christ, 749, falls in this period of peace. Cf. Milton's *Nativity Hymn*. When it was opened for the third time cannot be said. Tacitus says it was opened when Augustus was an old man. But it can hardly have remained shut after the opening of the Armenian war in 753. Augustus was then sixty-two years old. That age may possibly suit the expression of Tacitus. Horace *Ep.*, II, 1, 255, and *Carm.*, IV, 15, 9, mentions the closing of the temple. Suetonius, *Aug.* 22, says: "Janus Quirinus, which had been shut twice only, from the era of the building of the city to his own time, he closed thrice in a much shorter period, having established universal peace both by sea and land." This is almost a literal transcript of the *Res Gestæ*.

C. 14. [1] Gaius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa and Julia, the daughter of Augustus,

III.

1 honoris mei caussá senatus populusque Romanus annum quín-
tum et deci-
2 mum agentís consulés designávit, ut [e]um magistrátum
inírent post quín-
3 quennium. Et ex eó die, quó deducti [s]unt in forum, ut
interessent consiliis
4 publicis decrevit sena[t]us. § Equites [a]utem Románi uni-
versi principem
5 iuventútis utrumque eórum parm[is] et hastís argenteís do-
nátum ap-
6 pelláverunt. §

c. 15.

7 Plebei Románae viritim HS trecenos numeravi ex testámento
patris
8 meí, § et nomine meo HS quadringenos ex bellórum manibiís
consul

me honor, designated as consuls in the fifteenth year of each, with the intention that they should enter upon that magistracy after five years.[2] And the senate decreed that from the day in which they were introduced into the forum they should share in the public counsels.[3] Moreover the whole body of the Roman knights gave them the title, *principes* of the youth, and gave to each a silver buckler and spear.[4]

c. 15.

To each man of the Roman *plebs* I paid three hundred sesterces in accordance with the last will of my father;[1] and in my own name, when consul for the fifth time, I gave four hundred sesterces from the

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were born, the one in 734 (Dio, LIV, 8), the other in 737 (Dio, LIV, 18) and were adopted by their grandfather immediately after the birth of the latter. Dio, LIV, 18, says: "Lucius and his brother Gaius, Augustus at once adopted and made heirs of the empire, without waiting till they grew to manhood, in order that he might be the more secure against conspiracies." The will of Augustus (Suet. *Tib.* 23), speaks much as this chapter does of the death of the two Cæsars: "Since harsh fortune has snatched from me my sons, Gaius and Lucius, let Tiberius Cæsar be heir to two-thirds of my estate." Suetonius, *Aug.* 26, says that Augustus took his twelfth and thirteenth consulships, for the purpose of introducing these two boys into the forum.

[2] Dio, LV, 9, under the year 748 writes that these lads were wild and insolent and that the younger, then eleven years old, actually proposed to the people to make Gaius

12 νήρπασεν ἡ τύχη, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν τειμ[ὴ]ν ἢ τ[ε] σύνκλη-
13 τος καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων πεντεκαιδεκαέτεις
14 ὄντας ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξεν, ἵνα μετὰ πέντε ἔτη
15 εἰς τὴν ὑπάτον ἀρχὴν εἰσέλθωσιν· καὶ ἀφ' ἧς ἂν
16 ἡμέ[ρα]ς [εἰς τὴν ἀ]γορὰν [κατ]αχθ[ῶ]σιν, ἵνα [με]τέχω-
17 σιν, τῆς συ[ν]κλήτου ἐψηφίσατο. § ἱππεῖς δὲ Ῥω-
18 μαίων σύν[π]αντες ἡγεμόνα νεότητος ἑκάτε-
19 ρον αὐτῶν [πρ]οσηγόρευσαν, ἀσπίσιν ἀργυρέαις
20 καὶ δόρασιν [ἐτ]είμησαν.

C. 15.

21 Δήμῳ Ῥωμα[ίω]ν κατ' ἄνδρα ἑβδομήκοντα π[έντ]ε
22 δηνάρια ἑκάστῳ ἠρίθμησα κατὰ δια-
23 θήκην τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι

consul. Augustus appeared very angry at this, saying it would be a public calamity for the consulship to be borne by one of less age than that at which he himself had assumed it, viz., twenty. Gaius was, however, designated consul in 749, and Lucius in 752. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* I, 3; a coin of Rome has on one side: *Cæsar Augustus, divi. f., pater patriæ;* on the other: *C. L. Cæsares, Augusti f., cos. desig., princ. juvent.* (Eckhel VI, 171). This must have been struck between Feb. 5, 752, when Augustus received the title *pater patriæ*, and January 1, 754, when Gaius entered upon his actual consulship. Cf. C. I. L. III, n. 323, and VI, 900.

Lucius died, Aug. 20, 755, and so did not reach the consulship to which he had been elected. Gaius died in 757. Cf. Dio, LV, II; C. I. L. I. p. 472.

[3] Cf. Dio, LV, 9; C. I. L. I, p. 286 and 565.

[4] Dio, LV, 12, says: "The bodies of Lucius and Gaius were carried to Rome by military tribunes, and the chief men of each city; and the golden (sic) shields and spears, which they had received from the knights when they assumed the *toga virilis*, were suspended in the curia."

The title of *princeps juventutis* is somewhat difficult to explain. The fact is attested by Zonaras, X, 35, and by an inscription found near Viterbo (cf. Mommsen *R. G.*, p. 53), which reads: *C. Cæsari Aug. f. d. n. pontif. cos. design. principi juventut*, "To Caius Cæsar, son of Augustus, nephew of the divine (Julius) pontifex, consul designate, prince of the youth." Mommsen sums up his investigation of this (Cf. *R. G.* p. 54, ff.): the knights were divided into *turmæ*, or troops, each officered by *seviri*, three *decurions* and three *optious* or adjutants. Gaius and Lucius were *decurions* of the first *turma*, and their title, "princes of the youth," was a special one, and always thereafter reserved for members of the imperial family. The title does not appear to have been official, or formally bestowed, but was given by common consent of the knights.

C. 15. [1] Cf. Suet. *Cæs.* LXXXIII: "He (Cæsar) bequeathed to the Roman people his gardens near the Tiber, and three hundred sesterces to each man." Dio, XLIV,

9 quintum dedí, iterum autem in consulátú decimo ex [p]atri-
monio
10 meo HS quadringenos congiári viritim pernumer[a]ví, § et
consul
11 undecimum duodecim frúmentátiónes frúmento pr[i]vatim
ccémpto
12 emensus sum, [§] et tribuniciá potestáte duodecimum quad-
ringenós
13 nummós tertium viritim dedí. Quae mea congiaria p[e]r-
venerunt
14 ad [homi]num millia nunquam minus quinquáginta et du-
centa. §
15 Tribu[nic]iae potestátis duodevicensimum consul XII tre-
centís et
16 vigint[i] millibus plebís urbánae sexagenós denariós viritim
dedí. §
17 In colon[i]s militum meórum consul quintum ex manibiís
viritim

III, 17. In, W. et.

spoils of the wars;[2] again, moreover, in my tenth consulship I gave from my own estate four hundred sesterces to each man by way of *congiarium;*[3] and in my eleventh consulship I twelve times made distributions of food, buying grain at my own expense;[4] and in the twelfth year of my tribunitial power I three times gave four hundred sesterces to each man.[5] These my donations have never been made to less than two hundred and fifty thousand men.[6] In my twelfth consulship and the eighteenth year of my tribunitial power I gave to three hundred and twenty thousand of the city *plebs* sixty *denarii* apiece.[7] In the colonies of my soldiers, when consul for the fifth time, I gave to each man a thousand sesterces from the spoils; about a hundred and twenty thous-

35, is peculiar, saying: "Cæsar left to the people his gardens on the Tiber, and to each man one hundred and twenty sesterces, as Augustus himself says, or as others say, three hundred sesterces apiece." May it be that Dio has reversed the facts here, and that it was "others" who reported the smaller sum and Augustus the larger? Augustus is substantiated, or followed, by Plut.; *Ant.*, XVI, *Brut.*, XX; App. *B. C.*, II, 143.

Three hundred sesterces equals about fifteen dollars. The date of this disbursement is 710: its amount, supposing the minimum number of receivers, 250,000, comes to $3,750,000.

[2] The second (and the seventh, cf. Note 8) donations belong to the year 725 and

24 ἐκ λαφύρων [π]ο[λέ]μου ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν δηνάρια

VIII.

1 πέμπτον ὕπατος ἔδωκα, § πάλιν τε δέ[κατο]ν
2 ὑπατεύων ἐκ τ[ῆ]ς ἐμῆς ὑπάρξεως ἀνὰ δηνά-
3 ρια ἑκατὸν ἠρίθ[μ]ησα, [§] καὶ ἐνδέκατον ὕπατος
4 δώδεκα σειτομετρήσεις ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ βίου ἀπε-
5 μέτρησα, [§] καὶ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δωδέ-
6 κατον ἑκατὸν δηνάρια κατ' ἄνδρα ἔδωκα· αἵτ[ι]-
7 νες ἐμαὶ ἐπιδόσεις οὐδέποτε ἧσσον ἦλθ[ο]ν ε[ἴ]ς
8 ἄνδρας μυριάδων εἴκοσι πέντε. δημα[ρ]χικῆς ἐ-
9 ξουσίας ὀκτωκαιδέκατον, ὕπατ[ος] δ[ωδέκατον]
10 τριάκοντα τρισ[ὶ] μυριάσιν ὄχλου πολειτικ[οῦ ἐ]ξή-
11 [κοντα δηνάρια κατ' ἄνδρα ἔδωκα, κα]ὶ ἀποίκοις στρα-
12 τιωτῶν ἐμῶν πέμπτον ὕπατος ἐ[κ] λαφύρων κατὰ
13 ἄνδρα ἀνὰ διακόσια πεντήκοντα δηνάρια ἔδ[ωκα·]
14 ἔλαβον ταύτην τὴν δωρεὰν ἐν ταῖς ἀποικίαις ἀν-

VIII, 17. οὗτος, W. σύνπας; ἀριθμὸς, S. ἀριθμῷ or ἀριθμὸν.

were connected with the triple triumph. Dio mentions the two together, LI, 21. Four hundred sesterces is about twenty dollars.

[3] The third donation was in 730, on the return of Augustus after subduing the Cantabri. Dio, LIII, 28, says: "Augustus gave the people a hundred denarii (four hundred sesterces) apiece, but forbade the distribution until his act should receive the sanction of the senate." It would seem to have been unlawful to give money to the people without the consent of the senate. Probably this was a measure of precaution against demagogues.

The term *congiarium*, which is transferred rather than translated, means a gift, primarily of food or drink, and is derived from *congius*, a measure holding about three quarts, which was perhaps originally brought to be filled with grain or oil, or the like.

[4] Cf. c. 5 and Note 2. The date was 731.

[5] The fifth distribution was in 742. We learn from Dio, LIV, 29, that in that year Agrippa died, leaving to the Roman people his gardens and bath, and that Augustus, as his executor, not only turned over these properties, but made a donation besides, as if it had been so willed by Agrippa. Cf. C. I. L., I. p. 472.

[6] As c. 8 furnishes a basis for estimating the total population of the empire, so here we have a guide to the number of people in the city. Merivale, *History of the Romans*, c. XL, gives 700,000 as the limit; Bunsen, 1,300,000; Gibbon, c. XXXI, 1,200,000.

[7] Sixty denarii is about twelve dollars. This donation of 749, and the last one mentioned in this chapter, of 752, have been connected with the introduction in those years of Gaius and Lucius Cæsar, into the forum. Cf. c. 14. The amounts are the same in the two cases, and they vary from the sum given at other times.

18 millia nummum singula dedi; acceperunt id triumphale congiárium
19 in colo[n]ís hominum circiter centum et viginti millia. § Consul ter-
20 tium dec[i]mum sexagenós denáriós plebeí, quae tum frúmentum publicum
21 accipieba[t] dedi; ea millia hominum paullo plúra quam ducenta fuerunt.

c. 16.

22 Pecuniam [pro] agrís, quós in consulátú meó quárto et posteá consulibus
23 M. Cr[asso e]t Cn. Lentulo augure adsignávi militibus, solví múnicipís. Ea
24 [s]u[mma sest]ertium circiter sexsiens milliens fuit, quam [p]ró Italicís
25 praed[is] numeravi, § et ci[r]citer bis mill[ie]ns et sescentiens, quod pro agrís
26 próvin[c]ialibus solví. § Id primus et [s]olus omnium, qui [d]edúxerunt
27 colonias militum in Italiá aut in provincís, ad memor[i]am aetátis
28 meae feci. Et postea Ti. Nerone et Cn. Pisone consulibus, [§] item[q]ue C. Antistio

and men in the colonies received that triumphal donation.[8] When consul for the thirteenth time I gave sixty *denarii* to the *plebs* who were at that time receiving public grain; these men were a little more than two hundred thousand in number.[9] [10]

c. 16.

For the lands which in my fourth consulship, and afterwards in the consulship of Marcus Crassus and Cnæus Lentulus, the augur, I assigned to soldiers, I paid money to the *municipia*. The sum which I paid for Italian farms was about six hundred million sesterces, and that for lands in the provinces was about two hundred and sixty millions.[1] Of all those who have established colonies of soldiers in Italy or in the provinces I am the first and only one within the memory of my age, to do this. And afterward in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Cnæus

15 θρώπων μυριάδες πλ[εῖ]ον δώδε[κα. ὕ]πατος τ[ρι]σ-
16 καιδέκατον ἀνὰ ἑξήκοντα δηνάρια τῷ σειτομετ[ρου]-
17 μένῳ δήμῳ ἔδω[κα· οὗτο]ς ἀρ[ι]θμ[ὸς πλείων εἴκο-
18 σ]ι [μυ]ριάδων ὑπῆρχ[ε]ν.

c. 16.

19 Χρήματα ἐν ὑπατείᾳ τετάρτῃ ἐμῇ κα[ὶ] μετὰ ταῦτα ὑ-
20 πάτοις Μάρκῳ Κράσσῳ καὶ Ναίῳ Λέντλῳ αὔγου-
21 ρι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἠρίθμησα ὑπὲρ ἀργῶν, οὓς ἐμέρισα
22 τοῖς στρατ[ιώ]ταις. Κεφαλαίου ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ
23 μὲν μύριαι π[εντακι]σ[χ]ε[ίλιαι μυ]ριάδες, [τῶ]ν [δὲ ἐ]παρ-
24 χειτικῶν ἀγρῶν [μ]υ[ριάδες ἑξακισχίλ]ιαι πεν[τακό]σ[ιαι].

IX.

1 Τοῦτο πρῶτος καὶ μόνος ἁπάντων ἐπόησα τῶν
2 [κατα]γαγόντων ἀποικίας στρατιωτῶν ἐν Ἰτα-
3 λίᾳ ἢ ἐν ἐπαρχείαις μέχρι τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας. § καὶ
4 μετέπειτα Τιβερίῳ Νέρωνι καὶ Ναίῳ Πείσωνι ὑπά-

[8] Up to this point the donations have been enumerated in order of time. But here, between the largesses to citizens in 749 and 752 is introduced one given to veterans in 725. Why this break in the order? Mommsen, *R. G.* p. 2 and 59, thinks that a first draft of this inscription was prepared about 750. In this draft Augustus first mentioned all his gifts to the city people; and at the end placed the one gift to the soldiers. Then, when in 767, the document was brought down to date, this later gift to the people was placed last, instead of being interpolated after the civil donation of 749 and before the military one of 725. But his reasoning has not convinced other scholars.

[9] Cf. Dio, LV, 10.

[10] Augustus omits any mention of his bounty to discharged soldiers. Cf. Dio, XLVI, 46; XLIX, 14; LV, 6; Appian, V, 129. The total of the donations in this list is 619,800,000 sesterces = about $30,990,000.

C. 16. [1] Cf. c. 3; Dio, LI, 3, 4; Suet. *Aug.* 17. The last writer says that there was a mutiny at Brundisium in a detachment sent there immediately after Actium, and that they demanded reward and discharge. Augustus was forced to come from Samos to settle the trouble. This was in 724. There were 120,000 veterans to be provided for. Cf. c. 15. 600,000,000 sesterces was the compensation for the lands given to these men, an average of 5000 sesterces ($250) for each holding. But not all Italian proprietors were reimbursed. The Italians who had favored Antony were simply dispossessed. To some other Italians were given lands at Dyracchium and Philippi. His expenditure for land in Italy was $30,000,000. As to colonies outside of Italy, Dio, LIV, 23, tells of many settlements in Gallia (Narbonensis) and Iberia in 739. Eusebius notes colonies at Berytus in Syria, and Patræ in Achaia, as founded in 739. Cf. *Chron.* ad. a. Abr. 2001; C. I. L. III, p. 95.

29 et D. Laelio cos., et C. Calvisio et L. Pasieno consulibus, et
L. Le[ntulo et] M. Messalla
30 consulibus, § et L. Cánínio [§] et Q. Fabricio co[s.] milit-
[ibus, qu]ós eme-
31 riteis stipendís in sua municipi[a remis]i, praem[ia n]um-
erato
32 persolví [§] quam in rem seste[rtium] q[uater m]illien[s
li]b[ente]r
33 impendi.

c. 17.

34 Quater [pe]cuniá meá iuví aerárium, ita ut sestertium míl-
lien[s] et
35 quing[en]t[ien]s ad eos quí praerant aerário detulerim. Et
M. Lep[i]do
36 et L. Ar[r]unt[i]o cos. i[n] aerarium militare, quod ex con-
silio m[eo]
37 co[nstitut]um est, ex [q]uo praemia darentur militibus, qui
vicena
38 [aut plu]ra sti[pendi]a emeruissent, [§] HS milliens et
septing[e]nti-
39 [ens ex pa]t[rim]onio [m]eo detuli. §

Piso, and also in that of Gaius Antistius and Decimus Lælius, and in that of Gaius Calvisius and Lucius Pasienus, and in that of Lucius Lentulus and Marcus Messala, and in that of Lucius Caninius and Quintus Fabricius, I gave gratuities in money to the soldiers whom I sent back to their *municipia* at the expiration of their terms of service, and for this purpose I freely spent four hundred million sesterces.[2]

c. 17.

Four times I have aided the public treasury from my own means, to such extent that I have furnished to those in charge of the treasury one hundred and fifty million sesterces.[1] And in the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius I paid into the military treasury which was established by my advice that from it gratuities might be given to soldiers who had served a term of twenty or more years, one hundred and seventy million sesterces from my own estate.[2]

[2] The dates are 747, 748, 750, 751 and 752. The amount is $20,000,000. It was in 741 (Dio, LIV, 25) that Augustus determined upon a gift in money as a substitute for the assignments of land customary up to that time. Why such payments began

5 τοις καὶ πάλιν Γαίῳ Ἀνθεστίῳ καὶ Δέκμῳ Λαι-
6 λίῳ ὑπάτοις καὶ Γαίῳ Καλουισίῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ
7 Πασσήνῳ [ὑ]πάτο[ι]ς [καὶ Λ]ευκίῳ Λέντλῳ καὶ Μάρ-
8 κῳ Μεσσάλ[ᾳ] ὑπάτοις κ[α]ὶ [Λ]ευκίῳ Κανιν[ί]ῳ καὶ
9 [Κ]οίντῳ Φα[β]ρικίῳ ὑπάτοις στρατιώταις ἀπολυ-
10 ομένοις, οὓς κατήγαγον εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πόλ[εις], φιλαν-
11 θρώπου ὀνόματι ἔδωκα μ[υρ]ιάδας ἐγγὺς [μυρία]ς.

C. 17.

12 Τετρά[κ]ις χρήμ[α]σιν ἐμοῖς [ἀν]έλαβον τὸ αἰράριον, [εἰς] ὃ
13 [κ]ατήνενκα [χ]ειλίας [ἑπτ]ακοσίας πεντήκοντα
14 μυριάδας. κ[αὶ] Μ[ά]ρκῳ [Λεπίδῳ] καὶ Λευκίῳ Ἀρρουν-
15 τίῳ ὑ[πάτοις ε]ἰς τ[ὸ] στ[ρ]α[τιωτ]ικὸν αἰράριον, ὃ τῇ
16 [ἐμῇ] γ[ν]ώ[μῃ] κατέστη, ἵνα [ἐ]ξ αὐτοῦ αἱ δωρ[ε]αὶ εἰσ-
17 [έπειτα τοῖς [ἐ]μοῖς σ[τρατι]ώταις δίδωνται, ο[ἳ εἴκο-
18 σι]ν ἐνιαυτο[ὺ]ς ἢ πλείονας ἐστρατεύσαντο, μ[υ]ρι-
19 άδα[ς] τετρά[κ]ις χειλίας διακοσίας πεντήκοντα
20 [ἐκ τῆς ἐ]μ[ῆς] ὑπάρξεως κατήνενκα.

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only in 747 is matter of conjecture; also why they ceased after 752. Probably because the years 742–746 were occupied with the German and Pannonian wars of Tiberius and Drusus, and either there were no discharges, or else no money to spare from the expenses of war. Again in 753 troubles began in the East.

C. 17. [1] Only two of these occasions can be traced. Dio, LIII, 2, mentions one. He says that in 726, when it was determined to exhibit games in honor of Actium, Augustus replenished the empty treasury for that purpose. And there is a coin of c. 738 with the inscription: *Senatus populusque Romanus imperatori Cæsari quod viæ munitæ sunt ex ea pecunia quam is ad ærarium detulit.* Eckhel VI, 105.

Up to 726 the treasury was in charge of the quæstors. Thence to 731 two prætors, after that year two prætors presided over it, up to the time of Claudius. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XIII, 29; Dio, LIII, 2 and 32; Suet. *Aug.* 36. The sum mentioned here is $7,500,000. In the Greek τρίς has evidently been omitted before χειλίας.

[2] This was in 759. In 741 (Dio, LIV, 25) Augustus had fixed the term of service at twelve years for the prætorians and sixteen for the legionaries. The gift to the former upon discharge was also larger. In 758 the terms of service were lengthened to sixteen and twenty years. Cf. Dio, LV, 23. In LV, 25, Dio writes of this year 759: "Augustus contributed, in his own name and in that of Tiberius, money for that treasury which is called the military." The sum so given was $8,500,000. Tributary states and kings also assisted. But income could not keep pace with expenses. The old tax of a twentieth on bequests, except when the heir was a very near relative, or very poor, was revived, much to the discontent of the Roman people. Cf. Dio, LV,

c. 18.

40 Inde ab eo anno, q]uo Cn. et P. Lentuli c[ons]ules fuerunt,
cum d[e]ficerent
41 [vecti]g[alia, tum] centum millibus h[omi]num tu[m pl]uri-
bus i[nl]ato fru-
42 [mento vel ad n]umma[rió]s t[ributus ex agro] et pat[ri-
monio] m[e]o
43 [opem tuli].

IV. c. 19.

1 Cúriam et continens eí Chalcidicum, templumque Apollinis in

III, 40. W. Jam before inde.
III, 41. vectigalia, Sk. publicani.
III, 41–43. inlato..... tuli, S. multo frumentarias et nummarias tessaras ex aere et patrimonio meo dedi.
III, 42. vel..... agro, W. atque nummariis tesseris divisis; tributus, Sk. titulos.
III, 43. opem tuli, Sk. and W. subveni.

c. 18.

Beginning with that year in which Cnæus and Publius Lentulus were consuls, when the imposts failed, I furnished aid sometimes to a hundred thousand men, and sometimes to more, by supplying grain or money for the tribute from my own land and property.[1]

c. 19.

I constructed[1] the Curia,[2] and the Chalcidicum adjacent

25. Other taxes were devised, such as that of one *per cent* on sales. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* I, 78. On sales of slaves two *per cent* was exacted. Cf. Dio, LV, 31.

A glance at the military establishment of Augustus may help to some idea of its vast expense. Mommsen discusses the matter in detail (*R. G.* pp. 68–76). Augustus seems to have left at his death a standing army of twenty-five legions. Each legion approximated seven thousand men, giving a total of 175,000 soldiers. His legions were numbered from one to twenty-two. The number twenty-five is accounted for as follows: the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth had been exterminated under the leadership of Varus. But there were three legions, one in Africa, one in Syria and one in Cyrenaica, bearing the title third, and the fourth, fifth, sixth and tenth were each double. After Actium, Augustus disbanded the legions numbered above twelve (cf. his colonies of veterans at this time, numbering 120,000 men, c. XV). But by reason of the repetitions above alluded to, the legions bearing the numbers up to twelve, really amounted to eighteen. These duplications may have risen from the absorption into Augustus' army of legions bearing the same numbers from the forces of Lepidus and later from those of Antony. In 759, eight new legions, the thirteenth to the twentieth, seem to have been enrolled, in view of the German and Pannonian wars. This made twenty six. Three were lost with Varus, and their numbers,

c. 18.

21 [Ἀπ' ἐκ]είνου τ[ο]ῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐ[φ'] οὗ Ναῖος καὶ Πόπλιος
22 [Λ]έντλοι ὕπατοι ἐγένοντο, ὅτε ὑπέλειπον αἱ δη-
23 [μό]σιαι πρόσοδοι, ἄλλοτε μὲν δέκα μυριάσιν, ἄλ-
24 [λοτε] δὲ πλείοσιν σειτικὰς καὶ ἀργυρικὰς συντάξεις
X.
1 ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπάρξεως ἔδωκα.

c. 19.

2 Βουλευτήρ[ιο]ν καὶ τὸ πλησίον αὐτῷ χαλκιδικόν,

seventeen, eighteen and nineteen, seem never to have been restored to the list. To offset this loss in a measure, two new legions, the twenty-first and twenty-second were levied. Thus the twenty-five remaining at the death or Augustus are accounted for. Such an establishment was enormously and increasingly expensive. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VII, 45.

C. 18. [1] This form of benefaction began in 736. It is a little remarkable that Augustus should not mention the exact years of its continuance, its amount, or the beneficiaries, while he does name the minimum number of men who received aid from time to time. Perhaps he did not go into details because these gifts concerned the provincials and would be of slight interest to the city people for whose reading the inscription was intended. In 742, "when Asia was in need of aid on account of earthquakes, he paid the year's tribute of the province out of his own means." Dio, LIV, 30.

His supplying grain as well as money rose from the fact that taxes were imposed both in kind and in money. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* IV, 6; *Agr*, XIX and XXXI; C. I. Gr. 4957, 47. These passages all speak of taxes both in money and in produce. As to the method of levy, Hyginus is interesting (*De Lim.* p. 205). "The tax on agriculture is arranged in many ways. In some provinces the harvest is chargeable with a certain proportion, here a fifth, there a seventh, elsewhere a cash payment, and for this purpose certain values are determined for the fields by an estimation of the soil; as in Pannonia there is arable of the first class, of the second, meadows, mast-bearing woods, common woods, pastures: upon all these the tax is laid by the single acre, according to the fertility of the soil." This was in the time of Trajan.

C. 19. [1] The structures detailed here and in cc. 20 and 21, fall into three classes. First, those of c. 19, being either new buildings in place of ruined ones, or else entirely new ones, both classes on soil already consecrated; second, those of c. 20, being repairs of public works; third, public works upon soil given by himself, as noted in the first part of c. 21.

Augustus does not mention structures which he erected in the name of others, as the portico of Octavia, (different from the one below, Note 7), the portico of Livia, cf. Dio, XLIX. 43 and LIV, 23. He also omits the temple of Concord dedicated by Tiberius in 763 (C. I. L. I. p. 384), though he paid for it.

The order of the works is chronological for the most part.

[2] This was the Curia Julia, begun in 712. Cf. Dio XLVII, 19; XLIV, 5; XLV, 17. It was dedicated in 725 after Actium. Cf. Dio LV, 22. Here the senate met. Its location was near the forum.

2 Palatio cum porticibus, aedem dívi Iulí, Lupercal, porticum ad cir-
3 cum Fláminium, quam sum appellári passus ex nómine eíus qui pri-
4 órem eódem in solo fecerat Octaviam, pulvinar ad circum maximum,
5 aedés in Capitolio Iovis feretri et Iovis tonantis, [§] aedem Quiriní, §
6 aedés Minervae § et Iúnonis reginae § et Iovis Libertatis in Aventíno, §
7 aedem Larum in summá sacrá viá, § aedem deum Penátium in Velia, §
8 aedem Iuventátis, § aedem Mátris Magnae in Palátio fécí. §

thereto,[3] the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, with its porticoes,[4] the temple of the divine Julius,[5] the Lupercal,[6] the portico to the Circus of Flaminius, which I allowed to bear the name, Portico Octavia, from his name who constructed the earlier one in the same place;[7] the Pulvinar at the Circus Maximus,[8] the temples of Jupiter the Vanquisher[9] and Jupiter the Thunderer, on the Capitol,[10] the temple of Quirinus,[11] the temples of Minerva and Juno Regina and of Jupiter Libertas, on the Aventine,[12] the temple of the Lares on the highest point of the Via Sacra,[13] the temple of the divine Penates on the Velian hill,[14] the temple of Youth,[15] and the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.[16]

[3] A shrine of Minerva Chalcidica.

[4] Begun after the Sicilian victories in 718. Cf. Dio XLIX, 15; Vell. II, 81, dedicated Oct. 9, 726. Cf. Dio, LIII, 1; C. I. L. I, p. 403. Suet. *Aug.* 29, says: "He reared a temple of Apollo in that part of his estate on the Palatine which the haruspices declared was desired by the god because it had been struck by lightning; he attached to it a portico and a Greek and Latin library."

[5] An altar was placed at once on the spot in the forum where the body of Julius Cæsar was cremated. In 712 the senate decreed that a temple should be built there. Cf. Dio XLVII, 18. It is shown on coins struck between 717–720. Cf. Eckhel VI, 11, 75. This temple was dedicated Aug. 18, 725. Cf. Dio, LI, 19, 22; C. I. L, I, p. 399.

[6] Dionysius (I, 32), observes that the ancient condition of this place (originally a grotto near the Palatine, sacred to Pan) had been so changed as to be hardly recognizable. This was by reason of the changes made in his time, which nearly coincided with that of Augustus. Cf. C. I. L. VI, 912, 6, 9, and 841. Its precise location is undetermined.

[7] Festus, *De Verb. Sig.* L. 13, writes: "There were two Octavian porticoes,

3 *ναόν τε Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Παλατίῳ σὺν στοαῖς,*
4 *ναὸν θεοῦ [Ἰ]ουλίου, Πανὸς ἱερόν, στοὰν πρὸς ἱπ-*
5 *ποδρόμῳ τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ Φλαμινίῳ, ἣν*
6 *εἴασα προσαγορεύεσθαι ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκείνου Ὀκτα-*
7 *ουίαν, ὃ[ς] πρῶτος αὐτὴν ἀνέστησεν, ναὸν πρὸς τῷ*
8 *μεγάλῳ ἱπποδρόμῳ, [§] ναοὺς ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ*
9 *Διὸς τροπαιοφόρου καὶ Διὸς βροντησίου, ναὸν*
10 *Κυρείν[ο]υ, [§] ναοὺς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἥρας βασιλίδος καὶ*
11 *Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου ἐν Ἀουεντίνῳ, ἡρώων πρὸς τῇ*
12 *ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ, θεῶν κατοικιδίων ἐν Ὀυελίᾳ, ναὸν Νεό-*
13 *τητο[ς, να]ὸν μητρὸς θεῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐπόησα.*

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the one built near the theatre of Marcellus by Octavia, the sister of Augustus, the other close to the theatre of Pompey, built by Cn. Octavius, son of Cnæus, who was curule aedile, prætor, consul (589) decemvir for the sacred rites, and celebrated a naval triumph for a victory over King Perseus. It was the latter which, after its destruction by fire, Cæsar Augustus rebuilt." Its reconstruction was in 721. Cf. Dio, XLIX, 43, who, however, confounds this Octavian portico with the other built some years after in the name of Augustus' sister, Octavia.

[8] The Pulvinar was the place of honor from which the imperial family witnessed the games. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 45; *Claud.* 4. This restoration followed the burning of the Circus Maximus in 723. Cf. Dio, L, 10.

[9] A temple attributed to Romulus, in ruins in the time of Augustus, till restored by him on the suggestion of Atticus. Cf. Nepos, *Atticus*, 20; Livy, IV, 20. The temple was probably restored in 723.

[10] Suetonius, *Aug.* 29, writes : " He dedicated the temple to Jupiter the Thunderer, in acknowledgment of his escape from a great danger in his Cantabrian expedition ; when, as he was traveling by night, his litter was struck by lightning, which killed the slave who carried the torch before him." This expedition was in 728–729, and the temple was dedicated Sept. 1, 732. Cf. Dio, LIV, 4; C. I. L. I, 400.

[11] This was dedicated in 738, on the Quirinal. Cf. Dio, LIV, 19.

[12] These three temples have more than an accidental collocation. Just as the Tarpeian mount and the Quirinal hill had their triple divinities, so had the Aventine. Cf. Varro (*De Lin.*) V, 158. The temple of Juno is ascribed to the time of Camillus, and is said to have been built for the Veientines. The date of the other two is unknown, as is that of this restoration by Augustus.

[13] Also of unknown origin, location and restoration, other than as mentioned here.

[14] Dionysius, I, 68, describes the old temple, not the restoration by Augustus of which we have only this statement.

[15] The original temple was dedicated in 563, in the Circus Maximus. Cf. Livy, XXXVI, 36. Burned in 738. Cf. Dio, LIV, 19.

[16] The original temple was burned in 756. Cf. Val. Max. I, 8, 11; Dio, LV, 12; Suet. *Aug.* 57.

c. 20.

9 Capitolium et Pompeium theatrum utrumque opus impensá grandí reféci
10 sine ullá inscriptione nominis meí. § Rívos aquarum complúribus locís
11 vetustáte labentés refécí, [§] et aquam quae Márcia appellátur duplicavi
12 fonte novo in rivum eius inmisso. § Forum Iúlium et basilicam,
13 quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni, [§] coepta profligata-
14 que opera á patre meó perféci § et eandem basilicam consumptam in-
15 cendio ampliáto eius solo sub titulo nominis filiórum m[eorum i]n-
16 choavi [§] et, si vivus nón perfecissem, perfici ab heredib[us iussi].
17 Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sext[um ex decreto]
18 senatus reféci, nullo praetermisso quod e[o] temp[ore refici debebat].

c. 20.

The Capitol and the Pompeian theatre have been restored by me at enormous expense for each work, without any inscription of my name.[1] Aqueducts which were crumbling in many places by reason of age I have restored, and I have doubled the water which bears the name Marcian by turning a new spring into its course.[2] The Forum Julium and the basilica which was between the temple of Castor and the temple of Saturn, works begun and almost completed by my father, I have finished; and when that same basilica was consumed by fire, I began its reconstruction on an enlarged site, inscribing it with the names of my sons; and if I do not live to complete it, I have given orders that it be completed by my heirs.[3] In accordance with a decree of the senate, while consul for the sixth time, I have restored eighty-two temples of the gods, passing over none which was at that time in need of repair.[4] In my seventh consulship I constructed the Flamin-

C. 20. [1] The Capitol means the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

[2] Frontinus, *De Aq.* c. 125, speaks of a decree of the Senate in the year 743 "concerning the putting in order of the streams, conduits and arches of the Julian

C. 20.

14 *Καπιτώλ[ιο]ν καὶ τὸ Πομπηίου θέατρον ἑκάτερον*
15 *τὸ ἔργον ἀναλώμασιν μεγίστοις ἐπεσκεύασα ἄ-*
16 *νευ ἐπιγαφῆς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὀνόματος. § Ἀγωγοὺς ὑ-*
17 *δάτω[ν ἐν πλεί]στοις τόποις τῇ παλαιότητι ὀλισ-*
18 *θάνον[τας ἐπ]εσκευσα καὶ ὕδωρ τὸ καλούμενον*
19 *Μάρ[κιον ἐδί]πλωσα πηγὴν νέαν εἰς τὸ ῥεῖθρον*
20 *[αὐτοῦ ἐποχετεύσ]ας. [§] Ἀγορὰν Ἰουλίαν καὶ βασι-*
21 *[λικὴν τὴν μεταξὺ τ]οῦ τε ναοῦ τῶν Διοσκό-*
22 *[ρων καὶ Κρόνου κατα[βεβλημένα ἔργα ὑπὸ τοῦ*
23 *[πατρὸς ἐτελείωσα κα]ὶ τὴν αὐτὴν βασιλικὴν*
24 *[καυθεῖσαν ἐπὶ αὐξηθέντι] ἐδάφει αὐτῆς ἐξ ἐπι-*

XI.

1 *γραφῆς ὀνόματος τῶν ἐμῶν υἱῶν ὑπ[ηρξάμη]ν*
2 *καὶ εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς τετελειώκ[ο]ι[μι, τ]ελε[ι]ω[θῆναι ὑπὸ]*
3 *τῶν ἐμῶν κληρονόμων ἐπέταξα. § Δ[ύ]ο [καὶ ὀγδο-]*
4 *ήκοντα ναοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλ[ει ἔκτ]ον ὕπ[ατος δόγμα]-*
5 *τι συνκ[λ]ήτου ἐπεσκεύασ[α] ο[ὐ]δένα π[ε]ριλ[ειπών, ὃς]*
6 *ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπισκευῆς ἐδεῖτο. § [Ὑ]πα[τος ἕ-*

X, 22. S. inserts *τοῦ* before *Κρόνου*.
X, 23. S. inserts *μου* after *πατρὸς*.
X, 24. *καυθεῖσαν ἐπὶ*, S. *καταφλεχθεῖσαν ἐν*.

Marcian, Appian, Tepulan and Aniene waters, which Augustus has promised the Senate that he will repair at his own expense." Aqueducts were repaired in 749–750. Cf. C. I. L. VI, 1244. C. I. L. VI, 1249, gives *Iul. Tep. Mar.; imp. Cæsar divi f. Augustus ex s. c.; XXV; ped. CCXL.* C. I. L. VI, 1243, records the repairs of the Marcian aqueduct. Frontinus, *op. cit.*, 12, gives some details of the doubled supply of this source, and says the new spring had to be conducted eight hundred feet to join the older fountain.

[3] Julius Cæsar dedicated this forum Sept. 24 or 25, 708. Cf. Dio, XLIII, 22; App. *B. C.*, III, 28; C. I. L. I, p. 402 and 397. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XXXV, 12, 156, mentions its completion by Augustus.

Augustus uses the word *profligata* here for "unfinished," a use which was common enough but not elegant, and is severely criticised by Gellius, XV, 5. The word really means wretched rather than unfinished. That Augustus was not a purist this inscription testifies, and Suetonius also tells us, *Aug.*, 87 and 88, how peculiar he was in diction and orthography.

The basilica which was unfinished at the death of Augustus he refrains from naming while it was not yet dedicated. But we know from Suetonius, *Aug.* 29, and Dio, LVI, 27, that it was built in honor of his grandchildren, Gaius and Lucius.

[4] There is abundant testimony to this architectural activity. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 29

19 Con[s]ul septimum viam Flaminiam a[b urbe] Ari[minum feci et pontes]
20 omnes praeter Mulvium et Minucium.

c. 21.

21 In privato solo Mártis Ultoris templum [f]orumque Augustum [ex mani]-
22 biís fecí. § Theatrum ad aede Apollinis in solo magná ex parte á p[r]i[v]atis
23 empto féci, quod sub nomine M. Marcell[i] generi mei esset. § Don[a e]x
24 manibiís in Capitolio et in aede dívi Iú[l]í et in aede Apollinis et in ae-
25 de Vestae et in templo Martis Ultoris consacrávi, § quae mihi consti-
26 terunt HS circiter milliens. § Aurí coronárí pondo triginta et quin-
27 que millia múnicipiís et colonís Italiae conferentibus ad triumphó[s]

IV, 19. W. omits feci; inserts in ea after pontes.

ian way from the city to Ariminum, and all the bridges except the Mulvian and Minucian.[5]

c. 21.

Upon private ground I have built with the spoils of war the temple of Mars the Avenger, and the Augustan Forum.[1] Beside the temple of Apollo, I built upon ground, bought for the most part at my own expense, a theatre, to bear the name of Marcellus, my son-in-law.[2] From the spoils of war I have consecrated gifts in the Capitol, and in the temple of the divine Julius, and in the temple of Apollo, and in the temple of Vesta, and in the temple of Mars the Avenger; these gifts have cost me about a hundred million sesterces.[3] In my fifth consulship I remitted to the *municipia* and Italian colonies the thirty-

and 30; Dio, LIII, 2; LVI, 40; Livy IV, 20; Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 59; Hor. *Carm.*, III, 6. Nor was this the zeal of a mere archæologist and architect. The emperor was anxious for a revival of religious observance, as a conservative force in his new organization of the state.

[5] It is remarkable that Augustus should say he "*constructed*" the Flaminian Way, etc., for it was made nearly two hundred years before this date, 727. Moreover, the whole chapter is given up to an account of reconstructions, and of course it is meant that he *repaired* the road and the bridges in question. The Latin verb is wanting and

7 βδ[ο]μον ὁδὸν Φ[λαμινίαν ἀπὸ] Ῥώμης [Ἀρίμινον]
8 γ[εφ]ύρας τε τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ πάσας ἔξω δυεῖν τῶν μὴ
9 ἐπ[ι]δεομένων ἐ[π]ισκευῆς ἐπόησα.

C. 21.

10 Ἐν ἰδιωτικῷ ἐδάφει Ἄρεως Ἀμύντορος ἀγοράν τε Σε-
11 βαστὴν ἐκ λαφύρων ἐπόησα. [§] Θέατρον πρὸς τῷ
12 Ἀπόλλωνος ναῷ ἐπὶ ἐδάφους ἐκ πλείστου μέρους ἀγο-
13 ρασθέντος ἀνήγειρα [§] ἐπὶ ὀνόματος Μαρκέλλου
14 τοῦ γαμβροῦ μου. Ἀναθέματα ἐκ λαφύρων ἐν Καπι-
15 τωλίῳ καὶ ναῷ Ἰουλίῳ καὶ ναῷ Ἀπόλλωνος
16 καὶ Ἑστίας καὶ Ἄ[ρεω]ς ἀφιέρωσα, ἃ ἐμοὶ κατέστη
17 ἐνγὺς μυριάδω[ν δι]σχε[ι]λίων πενταχ[οσίων.]
18 Εἰς χρυσοῦν στέφανον λειτρῶν τρισ[μυρίων]
19 πενταχισχειλίων καταφερούσαις τα[ῖς ἐν Ἰ[ταλί-

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is restored from the Greek, *ἐπόησα*, which is unmistakable,—"I made." Mommsen does not comment on the incorrectness of this statement, but Wölfflin regards the Greek verb as a blunder of the stone-cutter at Ancyra, and thinks there was no verb at all at the end of this chapter, but that the mason by mistake took the last word of the preceding chapter which is *ἐπόησα*. A substitution of *ἐπόησα* for the proper verb seems more likely, as it seems improbable that the sentence would end without a verb.

These repairs are attested by an inscription on an arch at Ariminum, thus restored by Bormann: Cf. C. I. L. XI, 365.

SENATUS POPULUS*Q ue romanus*
imp. cæsari divi f. augusto imp. sept.
COS. SEPT. DESIGNAT. OCTAVOM *Via flamin* IA *et reliquei*S
CELEBERRIMEIS ITALIÆ VIEIS CONSILIO *et sumptib* US *eius mu*NITEIS.

Cf. also Suet. *Aug.* 30; Dio, LIII, 22. Other roads of Italy were repaired by those who obtained triumphs; of which more were celebrated from 726 to 728 than at any other epoch.

C. 21. [1] Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 29, Its construction was vowed in 712 and it was dedicated in 752. Cf. C. I. L. I, p. 393, May 12. In c. 35, Augustus mentions the quadriga dedicated to him in this forum.

[2] This theatre was begun by Julius Cæsar. Augustus completed it in honor of Marcellus, who died in 731. It was dedicated May 4, 743. Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VIII, 17, 65. Dio, LIV, 36, assigns its dedication to 741.

[3] Suetonius, *Aug.*, 30, says that on one occasion Augustus deposited in the *cella* of Jupiter Capitolinus sixteen thousand pounds of gold (= $3,200,000) and gems and pearls of the value of fifty million sesterces (= $2,500,000). But such statements are fabulous, in view of Augustus' own statement that the total of his gifts of this kind was only one hundred million sesterces (= $5,000,000).

28 meós quintum consul remisi, et posteá, quotienscumque im-
perátor a[ppe]l-
29 látus sum, aurum coronárium nón accepi decernentibus
municipií[s]
30 et coloni[s] aequ[e] beni[g]ne adque antea decreverant.

c. 22.

31 *T*[e]*r mu*nus gladiátorium dedí meo nomine et quinquens
filiórum me[o]-
32 rum aut n[e]pótum nomine; quibus muneribus depugnaverunt
homi-
33 nu[m] ci[rc]iter decem millia. [§] Bis [at]hletarum undique
accitorum
34 spec[ta]c[lum po]pulo pra[ebui meo] nómine et tertium
nepo[tis] mei no-
35 mine. § L[u]dos feci m[eo no]m[ine] quater [§], aliorum
autem m[agist]rá-

five thousand pounds given me as coronary gold on the occasion of my triumphs, and thereafter, as often as I was proclaimed imperator, I did not accept the coronary gold which the *municipia* and colonies voted to me as kindly as before.[4]

c. 22.

Three times in my own name, and five times in that of my sons or grandsons, I have given gladiatorial exhibitions; in these exhibitions about ten thousand men have fought.[1] Twice in my own name, and three times in that of my grandson, I have offered the people the spectacle of athletes gathered from all quarters.[2] I have celebrated games four times in my own name, and twenty-three times in the turns of

[4] In earlier times it had been customary for cities affected by a victory to give crowns of gold to the triumphing *imperator*. This grew into an abuse and was forbidden by law, unless the gift preceded the decree for the triumph. Later, the value of the crown was commuted for cash, and it came to be a frequent means of extortion on the part of provincial governors. To L. Antonius crowns of gold were given by each of the thirty-five Roman tribes in 713. Cf. Dio, XLVIII, 4. The amount named here, thirty-five thousand pounds of gold, would appear to have been from the thirty-five tribes. On the general subject, *aurum coronarium*, cf. Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, II, p. 285.

C. 22. [1] The sons of Augustus were Gaius, adopted in 737, died in 757; Lucius, adopted at the same time, died in 755; Agrippa Postumus, adopted in 757, exiled

20 ᾶ πολειτείαις καὶ ἀποικίαις συνεχώρη[σ]α τὸ [πέμ]-
21 πτον ὑπατεύων, καὶ ὕστερον ὀσάκις [αὐτ]οκράτωρ
22 προσηγορεύθην, τὰς εἰς τὸν στέφανο[ν ἐ]παγγε-
23 λίας οὐκ ἔλαβον ψηφιζομένων τῶν π[ολειτει]ῶν
24 καὶ ἀποικιῶν μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς προθ[υμίας, κα]θ-

XII.

1 ά[περ ἐψηφίσαντο π]ρό[τερον].

C. 22.

2 [Τρὶς μονο]μαχ]ίαν ἔδω]κα τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι καὶ
3 [πεντάκις τῶν υἱῶν μου ἢ υἱ]ωνῶν. ἐν αἷς μονο-
4 [μαχίαις ἐμαχέσαντο ἐ]ν[γὺς μύ]ρι[ο]ι. Δὶς ἀθλητῶ[ν] παν-
5 τ[αχόθεν] με[ταπεμφθέντων γυμνικο]ῦ ἀγῶνος θέαν
6 [τῷ δήμῳ π]αρέσχον τ[ῷ ἐ]μῷ ὀνόματι καὶ τρίτ[ον]
7 τ[οῦ υἱωνοῦ μου. Θέας ἐπόη]σα δι' ἐμοῦ τετράκ[ις,]

XII, 1. ἐψηφίσαντο, S. καὶ ἐψήφιστο.

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in 760. These were the sons of Agrippa and Julia. On the death of Gaius in 757, Augustus adopted Tiberius. With him Germanicus, nephew and adopted son of Tiberius, and Drusus, Tiberius' own son, became the legal grandchildren of Augustus. None of these could celebrate games in his own name after adoption, as they had no property rights, but were absolutely dependent on the head of their house, according to the *patria potestas* of the Roman law. See this very plainly set forth in Suetonius, *Tib.* 15: "After his (Tiberius') adoption he never again acted as master of a family, nor exercised in the smallest degree the rights which he had lost by it. For he neither disposed of anything in the way of gift, nor manumitted a slave; nor so much as received an estate left him by will, or any legacy, without reckoning it as a part of his *peculium*, or property held under his father." Tiberius was forty-six years old when he was adopted.

Seven of these exhibitions can be traced. 1. In 725, on the dedication of the temple of the Divine Julius. Dio, LI, 22. 2. In 726, in honor of the victory of Actium. Dio, LIII, 1. 3. In 738, in accordance with a decree of the senate. This was in the name of Tiberius and Drusus. Dio, LIV, 19. 4. In 742, at the Quinquatria held March 19–23, in honor of Minerva. This was in the name of Gaius and Lucius. Dio, LIV, 28, 29. 5. In 747; funeral games in honor of Agrippa. Dio, LV, 8. 6. In 752, at the dedication of the temple of Mars. Vell. II, 100. 7. In 759, in honor of Drusus, in the name of his sons Germanicus and Claudius. Dio, LV, 27; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, II, 26, 96; VIII, 2, 4. Possibly the eighth occasion may be found in Suetonius, *Aug.*, 43.

[3] Cf. Dio, LIII, 1; Suet. *Aug.*, 43. Wooden seats were erected in the Campus Martius for gymnastic contests in 726. Whether Germanicus or Drusus is the grandson mentioned here is unknown.

36 tu[um] vicem ter et vicie[ns] [§]. [Pr]o conlegio XV
virorum magis[ter con-
37 l]e[gi]í colleg[a] M. Agrippa [§] lud[os s]aecl[are]s C.
Furnio C. [S]ilano cos. [feci.
38 C]on[sul XIIII] ludos Mar[tia]les pr[imus feci], qu[os]
p[ost i]d tempus deincep[s]
39 ins[equen]ti[bus ann]is . . . . . [fecerunt co]n[su]les.
[§] [Ven]ati[o]n[es] best[ia]-
40 rum Africanárum meo nómine aut filio[ru]m meórum et
nepotum in ci[r]-
41 co aut [i]n foro aut in amphitheatris popul[o d]edi sexiens
et viciens, quibus
42 confecta sunt bestiarum circiter tria m[ill]ia et quingentae.

c. 23.

43 Navalis proelí spectaclum populo de[di tr]ans Tiberim, in quo
loco
44 nunc nemus est Caesarum, cavato [solo] in longitudinem
mille

other magistrates.[3] In behalf of the college of quindecemvirs, I, as master of the college, with my colleague Agrippa, celebrated the Secular Games in the consulship of Gaius Furnius and Gaius Silanus.[4] When consul for the thirteenth time, I first celebrated the Martial games, which since that time the consuls have given in successive years.[5] Twenty-six times in my own name, or in that of my sons and grandsons, I have given hunts of African wild beasts in the circus, the forum, the amphitheatres, and about thirty-five hundred beasts have been killed.[6]

c. 23.

I gave the people the spectacle of a naval battle beyond the Tiber, where now is the grove of the Cæsars.[1] For this purpose an excava-

[3] These were the lesser games of the circus and theatres, given ordinarily by magistrates holding the lower offices, which Augustus never filled. He took upon himself the care and expense where the proper magistrates were absent or too poor. Cf. Dio, XLV, 6; C. I. L., I, p. 397.

[4] The charge of the Secular Games, celebrated supposedly once in a century, though in reality oftener, fell to the quindecemvirs. Cf. Eckhel, VI. 102, for a coin with *imp. Cæsar Augustus lud. saec. XV S. F.* This was in 737. Cf. also C. I. L., I, p. 442. The college evidently gave the presidency to Augustus and Agrippa, since

διὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν ἐν μέρει τρὶς καὶ εἰκοσάκις. §
Ὑρὲρ τῶν δεκαπέντε [ἀνδρ]ῶν, ἔχων συνάρχοντα
Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππ[αν, τὰς θ]έας [δ]ιὰ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν γεινο-
μένας ὀν[ομαζομένα]ς σ[αι]κλάρειος ἐπόησα Γαίῳ
Φουρνίῳ κ[αὶ] Γαΰῳ Σε[ι]λανῳ ὑπάτοις. [§] Ὕπατος τρισ-
καιδέκατον [θέας Ἄρεως πρ[ῶτος ἐπόησα, ἃς μετ' ἐ-
κεῖνο[ν χ]ρόνον ἐξῆς [τοῖς μ[ετέπειτα ἐνιαυτοῖς
δ . . μοι ἐπόησαν οἱ ὕπα- . . . .
[τοι] . . ν . . . . ης θηρίων ε
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

C. 23.

Ν[αυμαχίας θέαν τῳ δήμῳ ἔδω]κα πέ[ρ]αν τοῦ Τι-
[βέριδος, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἐστὶ νῦ]ν ἄλσος Καισά[ρω]ν,
ἐκκεχω[κὼς τὸ ἔδαφος] ε[ἰ]ς μῆκ[ο]ς χειλίων ὀκτακο-
σίων ποδ[ῶν, εἰς π]λάτ[ο]ς χιλίων διακο[σ]ίων. ἐν ᾗ

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it was very convenient that these two members of the sacred body also held the tribunitial power, and so the games came into the charge of the two greatest men of the state in a perfectly natural way. Cf. C. I. L., IX, p. 29, No. 262, for confirmation of Agrippa's membership in the college of quindecemvirs.

[5] These games were celebrated on August 1. Dio, LX, 5, and LVI, 46, tells of their being annual, and in charge of the consuls after the death of Augustus. They began in 752. This passage is one of the few where both the Latin and Greek are incapable of restoration.

[6] Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 43. Some of these occasions were: in 743 in connection with the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus. Cf. Dio, LIV, 26. Here six hundred beasts were killed, and the tiger was shown for the first time. Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VIII, 17, 65. In 752, two hundred and sixty lions and thirty-six crocodiles were killed. Cf. Dio, LV, 10. In 765, in the games given by Germanicus, two hundred lions were killed. Cf. Dio, LVI, 27.

Augustus says "amphitheatres," though there was but one such structure. He may have regarded it as being two theatres joined at their straight side and facing each other.

C. 23. [1] Velleius II, 100, writes: "The divine Augustus in the year when he was consul with Gallus Caninius (752) sated the minds and the eyes of the Roman people at the dedication of the temple of Mars with the most magnificent gladiatorial shows and naval battles." Dio, LV, 10, says that traces of the excavation could be

45 et octingentós pedés, [§] in látitudine[m mille] e[t] ducentí. In quo tri-
46 ginta rostrátae náves trirémes a[ut birem]és, [§] plures autem
47 minóres inter se conflixérunt. Q[uibus in] classibus pugnave-
48 runt praeter rémigés millia ho[minum tr]ia circiter. §

c. 24.

49 In templís omnium civitátium pr[ovinci]ae Asiae victor orna-
50 menta reposui, quae spoliátis tem[plis is] cum quó bellum gesseram
51 privátim possederat §. Statuae [mea]e pedestrés et equestres et in
52 quadrigeis argenteae steterunt in urbe XXC circiter, quas ipse
53 sustuli [§] exque eá pecuniá dona aurea in áede Apol[li]nis meó nomi-
54 ne et illórum, qui mihi statuárum honórem habuerunt, posui. §

V. c. 25.

1 Mare pacávi á praedonibus. Eó belló servórum, qui fugerant á dominis
2 suis et arma contrá rem publicam céperant, triginta fere millia capta §

tion was made eighteen hundred feet long and twelve hundred wide. In this contest thirty beaked ships, triremes or biremes, were engaged, besides more of smaller size. About three thousand men fought in these vessels in addition to the rowers.

c. 24.

In the temples of all the cities of the province of Asia, I, as victor, replaced the ornaments of which he with whom I was at war had taken private possession when he despoiled the temples.[1] Silver statues of me, on foot, on horseback and in quadrigas, which stood in the city to the number of about eighty, I removed, and out of their money value, I placed golden gifts in the temple of Apollo in my own name, and in the names of those who had offered me the honor of the statues.[2]

c. 25.

I have freed the sea from pirates. In that war with the slaves I

XIII.

τριάκο[ν]τα ναῦς ἔμβολα ἔχουσαι τριήρεις ἢ δί-
κροτ[οι, αἱ] δὲ ἧσσονες πλείους ἐναυμάχησαν. §
Ἐν τ[ούτῳ] τῷ στόλῳ ἠγωνίσαντο ἔξω τῶν ἐρετῶν
πρόσπ[ο]υ ἄνδρες τρ[ί]σχ[ε]ί[λ]ιοι.

C. 24.

[Ἐν ναοῖ]ς π[ασ]ῶν πόλεω[ν] τῆς [Ἀ]σί[α]ς νεικήσας τὰ ἀναθέ-
[ματα ἀπ]οκατέστησα, [ἃ εἶχεν] ἰ[δίᾳ] ἱεροσυλήσας ὁ
ὑπ' [ἐμοῦ] δ[ι]αγωνισθεὶς πολέ[μιος]. Ἀνδριάντες πε-
ζοὶ καὶ ἔφιπποί μου καὶ ἐφ' ἅρμασιν ἀργυροῖ εἱστήκει-
σαν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνγὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, οὓς αὐτὸς ἦρα,
ἐκ τούτου τε τοῦ χρήματος ἀναθέματα χρυσᾶ ἐν
τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ τε ἐμῷ ὀνόματι καὶ
ἐκείνων, οἵτινές με [τ]ούτοις τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν ἐτείμη-
σαν, ἀνέθηκα.

C. 25.

Θάλασσα[ν] πειρατευομένην ὑπὸ ἀποστατῶν δού-

seen in his time (c. 200 A. D.), and that the fight represented a battle of Athenians and Persians, in which the former were victorious. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 43; Ovid, *Ars Am.* I, 171.

Claudius gave a similar exhibition on the Fucine Lake, but with a hundred triremes and quadriremes, and a force of nineteen thousand men, "as once Augustus did in a pond by the Tiber, but with lighter vessels and a smaller force." Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XII, 56; Suet. *Claud.*, 21; Dio, LX, 33.

C. 24. [1] Another instance of avoidance of the name of an enemy while distinctly referring to him. Antony had stripped various temples at Samos, Ephesus, Pergamos, and Rhœteum, all in the province of Asia, and had given the spoils to Cleopatra. Dio, LI, 17, says that great numbers of such things were found in her palace when Alexandria was captured. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIV, 8, 58, says: "He (Myro) made an Apollo, which was taken away by the triumvir Antony, but restored to the Ephesians by the divine Augustus." Strabo, XIII, 1, 30, writes of Rhœteum: "Cæsar Augustus gave back to the Rhœtians the shrine and statue of Ajax which Antony had taken away and given to Egypt. He did the like for other cities. For Antony took away the finest votive offerings from the most famous shrines for the gratification of the Egyptian woman, but Augustus restored them." Ib. XIV, 1, 14, writes of the temple of Hera, at Samos: "Antony took away three colossal sitting statues on one base, but Augustus Cæsar restored two of them, Athene and Heracles, to the same base; the Zeus, however, he placed upon the Capitol."

[2] Suetonius, *Aug.*, 52, says these gifts took the form of tripods. Cf. Dio, LIII, 22; LII, 35; LIV, 35.

3 dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidi. § Iuravit in mea
verba tóta
4 Italia sponte suá et me be[lli], quó víci ad Actium, ducem
depoposcit. § Iura-
5 verunt in eadem ver[ba provi]nciae Galliae Hispaniae Africa
Sicilia Sar-
6 dinia. § Qui sub [signis meis tum] militaverint, fuerunt
senátórés plúres
7 quam DCC, in iís[s qui vel antea vel pos]teá consules facti
sunt ad eum diem
8 quó scripta su[nt haec, LXXXIII, sacerdo]tés ci[rc]iter
CLXX. §

c. 26.

9 Omnium próv[inciarum populi Romani], quibus finitimae
fuerunt
10 gentés quae n[on parerent imperio nos]tro, fines auxi. Gal-
lias et Hispa-
11 niás próviciá[s et Germaniam qua inclu]dit óceanus a Gádi-
bus ad óstî-

V, 7. qui vel antea vel, S. consulares, et qui.
V, 11. et Germaniam qua includit, W. item Germaniam qua claudit.

delivered to their masters for punishment about thirty thousand slaves who had fled from their masters and taken up arms against the state.[1] The whole of Italy voluntarily took the oath of allegiance to me, and demanded me as leader in that war in which I conquered at Actium. The provinces of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily and Sardinia swore the same allegiance to me.[2] There were more than seven hundred senators who at that time fought under my standards, and among these, up to the day on which these words are written, eighty-three have either before or since been made consuls, and about one hundred and seventy have been made priests.[3]

c. 26.

I have extended the boundaries of all the provinces of the Roman people which were bordered by nations not yet subjected to our sway.[1] I have reduced to a state of peace the Gallic and Spanish provinces, and Germany, the lands enclosed by the ocean from Gades to the mouth

C. 25. [1] The allusion is to Sextus Pompeius, whose fleets, manned largely by slaves, cut off the grain ships on their way to Rome. Again Augustus avoids the name

15 λων [εἰρήν]ευσα· ἐξ ὧν τρεῖς που μυριάδας τοῖς
16 δε[σπόται]ς εἰς κόλασιν παρέδωκα. § Ὑμοσεν
17 [εἰς τοὺς ἐμοὺ]ς λόγους ἅπασα ἡ Ἰταλία ἐκοῦσα κἀ-
18 [μὲ πολέμου,] ᾧ ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ ἐνε[ί]κησα, ἡγεμόνα ἐξη-
19 [τήσατο, ὤ]μοσαν εἰς τοὺς [αὐτοὺ]ς λόγους ἐπα[ρ]-
20 χε[ῖαι Γαλα[τία Ἱσπανία Λιβύη Σι[κελία Σαρ]δώ. Οἱ ὑπ' ἐ-
21 μ[αῖς σημέαις τό]τε στρατευ[σάμενοι ἦσαν συνκλητι-
22 [κοὶ πλείους ἑπτ]α[κοσί]ων· [ἐ]ν [αὐτοῖς οἳ ἦ πρότερον ἦ]
23 [μετέπειτα] ἐγ[ένον]το [ὕπ]α[τοι εἰς ἐκ]ε[ί]ν[ην τὴν ἡ]μέ-
24 [ραν, ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα γέγραπτα]ι, ὀ[γδοήκο]ντα τρε[ῖ]ς, ἱερ[εῖ]ς
XIV.
1 πρόσπου ἑκατὸν ἑβδομή[κ]οντα.

c. 26.

2 Πασῶν ἐπαρχειῶν δήμο[υ Ῥω]μαίων, αἷς ὅμορα
3 ἦν ἔθνη τὰ μὴ ὑποτασσ[όμ]ενα τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡ-
4 γεμονία, τοῦς ὅρους ἐπεύξ[ησ]α. [§] Γαλατίας καὶ Ἱσ-
5 πανίας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Γερμανίαν καθὼς Ὠκεα-
6 νὸς περικλείει ἀπ[ὸ] Γάδε[ίρ]ων μέχρι στόματος

XIII, 22. οἱ ἦ πρότερον ἦ, S. ὑπατικοὶ καὶ οὐ.

of an opponent. Cf. Vell., II, 73, who thinks it remarkable that a son of the great Pompey, who had freed the sea from pirates, should himself defile it with piratical crimes. Florus, IV, 8, reflects the same sentiment. App. *B. C.*, V, 77, 80, says that captured pirates under torture confessed that Sextus Pompeius was the instigator of their crimes. When the peace of Misenum was made, Sextus Pompeius stipulated for the freedom of the slaves who had fought under him. It was after the overthrow of Pompey, in 718, that the slaves were returned. Dio, XLIX, 12, adds that slaves whose masters did not claim them were returned to their several cities, there to be crucified. Cf. App. *B. C.*, V, 131; Oros. VI, 18.

[2] This was in 722, just before the breaking out of hostilities between Antony and Octavian. Cf. Dio, L, 6; Suet., *Aug.* 17.

[3] Cf. c. 8, Note 2. There were a thousand senators at this time. Augustus, in his statement, probably means that seven hundred of the thousand then in the senate were on his side, not merely seven hundred who then or later were senators.

The number of consulars, eighty-three, is quite consistent with the facts, as is shown in a careful analysis of the *Fasti Consulares* for the period by Mommsen. *R. G.*, p. 100.

The priests referred to were probably members of the four great colleges and the Arval brotherhood. Cf. c. 7, notes 2–7.

C. 26. [1] This statement is borne out by what we otherwise know. Taking the provinces in order we find: First, the German frontier is pushed forward from the

12 um Albis flúm[inis pacavi. Alpes a re[gióne eá quae proxima est Ha-
13 driánó marí, [ad Tuscum pacari fec]i nullí gentí bello per iniúriam
14 inláto. § Cla[ssis mea per Oceanum] ab óstio Rhéni ad sólis orientis re-
15 gionem usque ad fi[nes Cimbroru]m navigavit, [§] quó neque terra neque
16 mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adít, § Cimbrique et Charydes

V, 13. pacem feci. W. pacificavi.

of the Elbe.[2] The Alps from the region nearest the Adriatic as far as the Tuscan Sea I have brought into a state of peace, without waging an unjust war upon any people.[3] My fleet has navigated the ocean from the mouth of the Rhine as far as the boundaries of the Cimbri, where before that time no Roman had ever penetrated by land or sea;[4] and the Cimbri and Charydes and Semnones and other German peoples of

Rhine to the Elbe. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 21. Second, in Illyricum and Macedonia he had erected the new provinces of Pannonia and Moesia. Third, in Asia Minor he did not extend the older limits of Bithynia, but out of the kingdom of Amyntas, he made the new province of Galatia and later added Paphlagonia to it. Fourth, in Africa, Augustus rather narrowed than extended the empire by his partition with Juba in 729. But a number of Roman proconsuls won laurels there.

[3] Here the record is of commotions quelled within the recognized limits of the empire. In Spain there was the Cantabrian war from 727 to 735. In Gaul, G. Carrinas had subdued the Morini, and triumphed, July 14, 726; and M. Messala had suppressed the Aquitani, triumphing Sept. 25, 727. Cf. Suet. *Aug.*, 20, 21.

The German campaigns extending at intervals over the years from 742 to the very end of Augustus' reign it is needless to detail. This reference to the pacification of Germany has been the subject of much dispute. Mommsen in two places (*R. G.*, p. VI, and 48), uses the word "crafty" (*callidus*) of Augustus, referring to his alleged glozing over of unsatisfactory events. Hirschfeld goes further, and in connection with the present passage accuses Augustus (*Wiener Studien*, V, 117) of a "masterly concealment and whitewashing (übertünchung) of all that could hurt his reputation." This charge is made because Augustus omits all mention of the disaster under Varus. Against this charge Johannes Schmidt defends Augustus, (*Philologus*, XLV, p. 394, ff.). The contest between Schmidt and Hirschfeld is based really upon opposing views of the purpose of the *Res Gestae*. Schmidt believed it to be an epitaph. In this there would be no place for anything save the fortunate events of a life. If *nil de mortuis nisi bonum* be wise, Augustus might well have adapted the adage to his own case and said, *nil de me morituro nisi bonum*. But Hirschfeld insists that the *Res Gestae* constitute not an epitaph, but "an account of his administration,"

7 *Ἄλβιος ποταμο[ῦ ἐν] εἰρήνῃ κατέστησα. Ἄλπης ἀπὸ*
8 *κλίματος τοῦ πλησίον Ἰονίου κόλπου μέχρι Τυρ-*
9 *ρηνικῆς θαλάσσης εἰρηνεύεσθαι πεπόηκα,* [§] *οὐδενὶ*
10 *ἔθνει ἀδίκως ἐπενεχθέντος πολέμου.* [§] *Στόλος*
11 *ἐμὸς διὰ Ὠκεανοῦ ἀπὸ στόματος Ῥήνου ὡς πρὸς*
12 *ἀνατολὰς μέχρι ἐθνους Κίμβρων διέπλευσεν, οὗ οὔ-*
13 *τε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε κατὰ θάλασσαν Ῥωμαίων τις πρὸ*
14 *τούτου τοῦ χρόνου προσῆλθεν· καὶ Κίμβροι καὶ Χάλυ-*
15 *βες καὶ Σέμνονες ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἔθνη Γερμανῶν*

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and therefore contends that the omission of the German disaster was not in good faith. To this, Schmidt answers that Augustus had nothing to gain by such concealment—indeed that concealment of so notorious a disaster would be absurd. And in the text itself he finds a recognition of the real state of affairs, inasmuch as Augustus expressly distinguishes Germany from the provinces, Gallic and Spanish, and while claiming it for Rome, does not assert that it belongs to her as do organized provinces. Schmidt also says that *pacavi*, "I pacified" does not necessarily imply that Germany continued in a state of peace. It may well enough cover the fact that there was temporary success. But this is hair-splitting. The character of the *Res Gestae* must be always had in mind. Cf. Introduction. Its deliverances were *ad populum* and they constituted an epitaph.

[3] Suetonius, *Aug.* 21, says: "He waged war upon no people without just and necessary causes." The present Torbia near Monaco, derives its name from a *Tropæa Augusti*, "Trophy of Augustus," some fragments of which still exist.

The inscription has been preserved by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, III, 20, 136: *imp. Cæsari divi f. Augusto pontifice maxumo imp. XIIII tribunic. potestate XVII s. p. q. R. quod ejus ductu auspiciisque gentes Alpinæ omnes quæ a mari supero ad inferum pertiniebant sub imperium p. R. sunt redactæ*—"the Roman senate and people to Cæsar . . . Augustus . . . because under his leadership and auspices all the Alpine nations, from the upper to the lower sea have been brought into subjection to the Roman empire." Then follows an enumeration of forty-six peoples. Pliny adds, "the Cottian states were not annexed because they had not been hostile;" and an arch at Segusio was placed in honor of Augustus, and on it are the names of fourteen states, six being repetitions from the Torbia monument. Cf. C. I. L. V, 7817 and 7231.

The campaigns here referred to are: First, of Varro Murena against the Salassi in 729. Cf. Strabo, IV, 6, 7, p. 205; Dio, LIII, 25; Livy, *Epit.*, CXXXV; Cass. *ad. ann.* 729; Suet. *Aug.* 21. Second, of Publius Silius against the Vennones and Camunni in 738. Cf. Dio, LIV, 20. Third, of Tiberius and Drusus against the Ræti and Vindelici in 739. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 21. Fourth, against the Ligurians of the Maritime Alps in 740. Cf. Dio, LIV, 24. Finally these regions were formed into the province of Rætia in 747–748.

[4] This naval expedition was connected with the German campaign of Tiberius in 758. Cf. Vell. II, 106; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, II, 67, 167.

17 et Semnones et eiusdem tractús alií Germánórum popu[l]i
per legátós amici-
18 tiam meam et populi Románi petierunt. § Meo iussú et
auspicio ducti sunt
19 [duo] exercitús eódem fere tempore in Aethiopiam et in
Ar[a]biam, quae appel-
20 [latur] eudaemón, [maxim]aeque hos[t]ium gentís utr[iu]s-
que cop[iae]
21 caesae sunt in acie et [c]om[plur]a oppida capta. In Aethio-
pi*am* usque a*d* o*p*pi-
22 dum Nabata pervent[um] est, cuí proxima est Meroé. In
Arabiam usque
23 ín fínés Sabaeorum pro[cess]it exerc[it]us ad oppidum Ma-
riba. §

c. 27.

24 Aegyptum imperio populi [Ro]mani adieci. § Armeniam
maiorem inter-
25 fecto rége eius Artaxe § c[u]m possem facere provinciam,
málui maiórum

that section, by means of legates, sought my friendship and that of the Roman people.[5] By my command and under my auspices two armies at almost the same time have been led into Ethiopia and into Arabia, which is called "the Happy," and very many of the enemy of both peoples have fallen in battle, and many towns have been captured. Into Ethiopia the advance was as far as Nabata, which is next to Meroe.[6] In Arabia the army penetrated as far as the confines of the Sabaei, to the town Mariba.[7]

c. 27.

I have added Egypt to the empire of the Roman people.[1] Of greater Armenia, when its king Artaxes was killed I could have made

[5] Strabo, VII, 2, 1, describes an embassy of the Cimbri asking for "peace and amnesty." They dwelt in the end of Jutland. Cf. Ptolemy, II, 10. Below them were the Charudes, whom the mason at Ancyra makes Charydes, and the Greek translator, thinking of the fable, transforms into Chalybes, living just south of the Cimbri. Cf. Ptolemy, ii, 11, 12. The Semnones were between the Elbe and the Oder.

[6] When the Egyptian garrisons were weakened on account of the Arabian expedition, Queen Candace took advantage of it and captured a number of towns in Upper Egypt. These the præfect, C. Petronius, re-took, and inflicted severe punishment upon the Æthiopians. This took place 730–732. Cf. Strabo, XVII, I, 54; Dio, LIV, 5; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VI, 29, 181, 182.

διὰ πρεσβειῶν τὴν ἐμὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἠτήσαντο. Ἐμῇ ἐπιταγῇ καὶ οἰωνοῖς αἰσίοις δύο στρατεύματα ἐπέβη Αἰθιοπίᾳ καὶ Ἀραβίᾳ τῇ εὐδαίμονι καλουμένῃ μεγάλας τε τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις κατέκοψεν ἐν παρατάξει καὶ πλείστας πόλεις δοριαλώτους ἔλαβεν καὶ προέβη ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ μέχρι πόλεως Ναβάτης, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἔγγιστα Μερόης, ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ δὲ μέχρι πόλεως Μαρίβας.

XV. c. 27.

Αἴγυπτον δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ προσέθηκα.

Ἀρμενίαν τὴν μ[εί]ζονα ἀναιρεθέντος τοῦ βασιλέ-

In 1896 Capt. Lyons, R. E., found, at Philæ, an inscription in Latin, Greek and hieroglyphics, of which Prof. Mahaffy gives this translation: "Gaius Cornelius, son of Cnaeus Gallus, a Roman knight, appointed first prefect, after the kings were conquered by Cæsar, son of Divus, of Alexandria and Egypt—who conquered the revolt of the Thebaid in fifteen days, having won two pitched battles, together with the capture of the leaders of his opponents, having taken five cities, some by assault, some by siege, viz., Boresis, Coptos, Ceramice, Diospolis the Great, Ombos (?); having slain the leaders of these revolts, and having brought his army beyond the cataract of the Nile to a point whither neither the Roman people nor the Kings of Egypt had yet carried their standards, a military district impassable before his day; having subdued, to the common terror of all the kings, all the Thebaid, which was not subject to the kings, and having received the ambassadors of the Ethiopians at Philæ, and guest-friendship from their king (and received their king under his protection) and having appointed him tyrant of the 30-*schoeni* district of Lower Ethiopia—makes this thank-offering to the Dii Patrii, and to the Nile, who aided him in his deeds." *London Athenæum*, March 14, 1896, and *Sitzungsberichte d. kgl. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1896, I, pp. 469–480.

[1] The Arabian campaign, under C. Aelius Gallus was probably in 729–730. Cf. Dio, LIII, 29; Hor. *Carm.* I, 29, 35; Strabo, XVI, 4, 22, 24. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI, 28, 159, 160.

C. 27. [1] Egypt was made an integral part of the empire after Actium and the death of Cleopatra, in 724. Its connection with the empire was peculiar. W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 113, says: "The government of Egypt was in many points wholly exceptional. Julius Cæsar had deliberately abstained from making it a province of the country (cf. Suet., *Jul.* 35); and when Augustus added it to the empire he subjected it to an altogether exceptional treatment. The country was his private property, or rather the Emperor's private property; it passed as a matter of course, that is, from emperor to emperor. Augustus appointed a præfect to represent him in the province, just as in earlier times the urban prætors had sent prefects to

26 nostrórum exemplo regn[u]m id Tigrani regis Artavasdis filio, nepoti au-
27 tem Tigránis regis, per T[i. Ne]ronem trad[er]e, qui tum mihi priv[ig]nus erat.
28 Et eandem gentem posteá d[esc]íscentem et rebellantem domit[a]m per Gaium
29 filium meum regi Ario[barz]ani regis Medorum Artaba[zi] filio *regen*-
30 dam tradidi [§] et post e[ius] mortem filio eius Artavasdi. [§] Quo [inte]rfecto [Tigra]-
31 ne, qui erat ex régió genere Armeniorum oriundus, in id re[gnum] mísí. § Pro-
32 vincias omnís, quae trans Hadrianum mare vergun[t a]d Orien[te]m, Cyre-
33 násque, iam ex parte magná regibus eas possidentibus, e[t] *ante*a Siciliam

a province, but I preferred, after the example of our fathers, to deliver that kingdom to Tigranes, the son of king Artavasdes, and grandson of king Tigranes; and this I did through Tiberius Nero, who was then my son-in-law.[1] And afterwards, when the same people became turbulent and rebellious, they were subdued by Gaius, my son, and I gave the sovereignty over them to king Ariobarzanes, the son of Artabazes, king of the Medes, and after his death to his son Artavasdes. When he was killed I sent into that kingdom Tigranes, who was sprung from the royal house of the Armenians.[2] I recovered all the provinces across the Adriatic Sea, which extend toward the east, and Cyrenaica,

represent them in the municipalities of Italy. This præfect was of equestrian, and not of the highest equestrian rank (Tac. *Ann.*, XII, 60; II, 59; *Hist.* I. 11); no senators were admitted into the province; and the greatest jealousy was shown of the smallest interference with it. The reasons for the special jealousy of Egypt shown by Augustus and his successors were partly the great defensibility of the country (in case of insurrection—Ed.), partly its immense importance as the granary of Rome. 'It was an accepted principle with our fathers,' says Pliny, 'that our city could not possibly be fed and maintained without the resources of Egypt.'" For a fuller treatment cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, I, 282–298.

[2] Armenia Major had been raised to greatness by Tigranes I (658–699) who had been a formidable ally of Mithridates. Pompey finally subdued him, 688. Henceforth Armenia was in a subject condition. Tigranes was succeeded by his son Artavasdes. In 718, when Antony attacked the Parthians, this king sided with him against Phraates of Parthia, and another Artavasdes, king of Media. Cf. Dio, XLIX, 25.

3 ὡς δυνάμενος ἐπαρχείαν ποῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐβου-
4 λήθην κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἡμῶν ἔθη βασιλείαν Τιγρά-
5 νη Ἀρταουάσδου υἱῷ, υἱωνῷ δὲ Τιγράνου βασι-
6 λέως δ[ο]ῦν[α]ι διὰ Τιβερίου Νέρωνος, ὃς τότ' ἐμοῦ
7 πρόγονος ἦν· καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος ἀφιστάμενον καὶ
8 ἀναπολεμοῦν δαμασθὲν ὑπὸ Γαΐου τοῦ υἱοῦ
9 μου βασιλεῖ Ἀριοβαρζάνει, βασιλέως Μήδων Ἀρτα-
10 βάζου υἱῷ παρέδωκα καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνα-
11 τον τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀρταουάσδῃ· οὗ ἀναιρεθέντος
12 Τιγράνην, ὃς ἦν ἐκ γένους Ἀρμενίου βασιλικοῦ, εἰς
13 τὴν βασιλείαν ἔπεμψα. § Ἐπαρχείας ἁπάσας, ὅσαι
14 πέραν τοῦ Εἰονίου κόλπου διατείνουσι πρὸς ἀνα-
15 τολάς, καὶ Κυρήνην ἐκ μείζονος μέρους ὑπὸ βασι-
16 λέων κατεσχημένας καὶ ἔμπροσθεν Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρ-

But presently the two Artavasdes changed relations, the king of Armenia passing to the Parthian side and he of Media joining Antony. Cf. Plut., *Ant.*, 52; Dio, XLIX, 33, 44. Antony captured Artavasdes of Armenia and gave him over to Cleopatra, who killed him in 721. His kingdom was assigned to Antony's son Alexander to whom was betrothed Jotape daughter of Artavasdes of Media. The Armenians made Artaxes, son of the late Artavasdes, their king. When Octavian overcame Antony he did not befriend all the Oriental enemies of the latter, but for purposes of his own set up a rival to Phraates of Parthia in Tiridates. Cf. c. 32. And, angered at the Armenians, who had dealt harshly with certain Romans in that kingdom, he held as hostages the brothers of king Artaxes, and set Artavasdes of Media over Armenia Minor as a check upon Artaxes. Cf. Dio, LI, 16; LIV, 9. In 734 Augustus went to the East to arrange affairs there. A campaign against Artaxes was planned, but he was assassinated. Cf. Dio, LIV, 9; Tac., *Ann.*, II, 3; Vell., II, 94, 122; Suet. *Aug.*, 21; Jos., *Ant.*, XV, 4, 3; Eckhel, VI, 98. At this point the action of Augustus, recorded here in the *Res Gestæ*, takes place. Augustus follows the example of Pompey, who, in dealing with Armenia in 688 had contented himself with making the Armenian king accept his royalty as a gift from Rome. Cf. Cic. *pro Sext.* 27. The affair was conducted by Tiberius, not yet adopted. Cf. Suet. *Tib.*, 9; Vell., II, 122. Henceforth Armenia was regarded as part of the empire, though its native sovereigns were continued. Cf. Vell., II, 94, 122: "Armenia restored to the control of the Roman people;" "Armenia retaken." "The Medes likewise were subjected." Cf. c. 33.

[3] The reign of Tigranes was brief. The Parthians winning some success against Rome, stirred up Armenia. Cf. Tac. *Ann.*, II, 3; Vell. II, 100. They favored the children of Tigranes, Tigranes III and Erato. A Roman faction set up his younger brother Artavasdes. Cf. Tacitus l. c. The suppression of the disorder was enjoined upon Tiberius. But at this juncture, 748, he went into retirement at Rhodes. Cf. Dio, LV, 9. Artavasdes died and the young Tigranes courted the aid of Rome, but

34 et Sardiniam occu*patás* bello servili reciperávi. §

c. 28.

35 Colonias in Áfri*ca* *Sicilia* [M]acedoniá utráque Hispániá
Achai[a] As*ia* S[y]*ria*
36 Galliá Narb*onensi* *Pi*[si]*dia* militum dedúxi §. Italia autem
XXVIII [colo]ni-
37 ás, quae vívo *me* *celeberrimae* et frequentissimae fuerunt, me-
[is auspicis]
38 deductas h*abet*.

V, 37. meis auspiciis, W. mea auctoritate.

at that time for the most part in the possession of kings, together with Sicily and Sardinia, which had been engaged in a servile war.[4]

c. 28.

I have established colonies of soldiers[1] in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, the two Spains, Achaia, Asia, Syria, Gallia Narbonensis and Pisidia.[2] Italy also has twenty-eight colonies established under my auspices, which within my lifetime have become very famous and populous.[3]

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was soon killed, probably by Parthian means, and his sister Erato abdicated. Cf. fragments of Dio, cited by Mommsen, *R. G.* p. 113, and Dio, LV, 10. Tacitus confirms the delivery of Armenia to Ariobarzanes by Gaius. Cf. *Ann.*, II, 3; and Dio, LV, 10. The Parthian faction did not accept him, and it was in a contest over him that Gaius received a wound, of which he died, Feb. 21, 757. Cf. C. I. L. I, p. 472. For the succession of Artavasdes, cf. Dio, LV, 10. The Tigranes IV, next mentioned "of the royal house of the Armenians" was a grandson of Herod the Great, of Judea, on the one side, and of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, and probably an Armenian princess on the other. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* VI, 40; XIV, 26; Jos., *Ant.* XVIII, 5, 4; *Wars*, I, 28, 1.

[4] For Sicily and Sardinia, cf. c. 25 and notes.

By the treaty of Brundisium, Antony had received Macedonia, Achaia, Asia, Pontus, Bithynia, Cilicia, Cyprus, Syria, Crete, Cyrenaica. The five last named he had given over to foreign kings. As to Asia and Bithynia, Dio, XLIX, 41 and Plut. *Ant.* 54, are in conflict. But the *Res Gestæ* tends to confirm the latter. Lycaonia and Pamphylia were taken from the province of Cilicia and given to Amyntas, King of Galatia. Cf. Dio, XLIX, 32. He extended Egypt again by restoring to it Cyprus. Cf. Dio, XLIX, 32, 41; Plut. l. c.; Strabo, XIV, 6, 6: he granted to Cleopatra and Cæsarion, her son by Julius Cæsar, the coast land of Syria, Tyre and Sidon excepted, cf. Jos. *Ant.* XV, 4, 1; *Wars*, I, 18, 5; also Coele-Syria, cf. Jos. *Ant.* XV, 3, 8; Plut. l. c. Ituraea, Judaea and Arabia Nabataea, cf. Dio, XLIX, 32; Jos. *Ant.* XV, 4, 1; 5, 3; *Wars*, I, 18, 5; 20, 3; parts of Cilicia, cf. Strabo, XIV, 5, 3; 5, 6: and perhaps Crete also, cf. Dio, XLIX, 32: and Cyrenaica, cf. Plut. l. c. To his younger son Ptolemy Philadelphus he gave Syria, and part of Cilicia, cf. Dio, XLIX, 41; Plut.

17 δῲ προκατειλημένας πολέμῳ δουλικῷ ἀνέλαβον.

c. 28.

18 Ἀποικίας ἐν Λιβύῃ Σικελίᾳ Μακεδονίᾳ ἐν ἑκατέ-
19 ρᾳ τε Ἱσπανίᾳ Ἀχαίᾳ Ἀσίᾳ Συρίᾳ Γαλατίᾳ τῇ πε-
20 ρὶ Νάρβωνα Πισιδίᾳ στρατιωτῶν κατήγαγον. § Ἰτα-
21 λία δὲ εἴκοσι ὀκτὼ ἀποικίας ἔχει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καταχθεί-
22 σας, αἳ ἐμοῦ περιόντος πληθύουσαι ἐτύγχανον.

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l. c.: for the elder, Alexander he planned a kingdom made up of Armenia, Media and Parthia, cf. Livy, *Epit.* CXXXI; Plutarch, l. c. These alienations of Roman territory were made the occasion of Octavian's attack upon Antony. Cf. Dio, L, 1; Plut. l. c.

C. 28. [1] Mommsen believes that Augustus founded only military colonies. Zumpt thinks otherwise. Cf. *Comment Epig.*, I, 362.

[2] Known colonies of Augustus are: In Africa, Carthage, cf. C. I. L. VIII, p. 133; Dio, LII, 43; App. *Pun.* CXXXVI. In Sicily, Panhormus, Thermes, Tyndaris, cf. Dio, LIV, 7; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, III, 8, 88; 89; 90. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* I, 246, names seven colonies of Augustus in Sicily. In Macedonia, Dyrrachium, Philippi, cf. Dio, LI, 4. Cassandrea, cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, IV, 10. In Hither Spain, Cæsaraugusta, cf. coin in Eckhel I, 37, which also gives the numbers of the legions whose veterans were colonized here: *leg. IV, leg. VI, leg. X.* Marquardt *op. cit.*, I, 256, names six colonies of Augustus here. In Farther Spain, Emerita, cf, Eckhel I, 12, and 19, *leg. V, X*; Marquardt, *op. cit.*, I, 257. In Achaia, Patrae, cf. C. I. L. III, p. 95, *leg. X, XII.* In Asia, Alexandrea of the Troad, cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V, 30. In Syria, Berytus, cf. Eckhel III, 356, *leg. V, VIII;* Heliopolis, cf. Eckhel, III, 334. In Gallia Narbonensis, Reii and Aquae Sextiae, cf. Herzog, *Gall. Narb. inscr.* n. 113, 356. In Pisidia, Antioch, cf. Eckhel III, 18; Cremna, cf. Eckhel III, 20; Olbasa, cf. Eckhel, III, 20; Parlais, cf. Ramsay, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, VII, p. 318.

No colonies are assigned to Sardinia, the three Gauls and two Germanies, Raetia, Noricum, Bithynia, Pontus, Galatia, Galatian Pontus, Paphlagonia, part of Phrygia, Lycaonia, Isauria, Cilicia, Cyprus, Crete, Egypt, Cyrenaica. As for parts of the empire under subject kings, such as Thrace, Cappadocia, Mauretania, no account is taken of them, though there were certainly colonies in Mauretania, at Cartenna and Tupusuctu. Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, V, 2, 20; C. I. L., VIII, 8857.

[3] Cf. an article by Mommsen, *Hermes*, XVIII, 161 ff. on the "Colonies of Italy from Sulla to Vespasian."

When Augustus wrote, Italy was separated from Illyricum by the river Arsia. Yet Illyricum was not counted by him as a province. It had colonies at Emona, Iader, Salona, and possibly at Epidaurus and Narona. Cf. C. I. L., III, pp. 489, 374, 304, 287, 291. Mommsen thinks this omission was intended by Augustus; that he had been able to satisfy some of his veterans, to whom Italian farms had been promised, with lands over the Italian border in Illyricum, and because he could not call it a province, nor yet a part of Italy, he eludes the difficulty by omitting the Illyrian colonies.

c. 29.

39 Signa mílitaria *complur*[a per] aliós d[u]*cés* ámi[ssa] devicti[s hostibu]s re[cipe]ravi]

40 ex His*pania et* [Gallia et a Dalm]ateis. § Parthos trium exercitum Roman[o]-

41 rum s*polia et signa re*[ddere] mihi supplicesque amicitiam populí Romaní]

42 petere *coegi*. § *Ea autem si*[gn]a in penetrálí, quod e[s]t ín templo Martis Ultoris,

43 reposui.

c. 30.

44 Pannonio*rum gentes, qua*[s a]nte me principem populi Romaní exercitus nun-

45 quam ad[i]*t, devictas per Ti.* [Ne]ronem, qui tum erat privignus et legátus meus,

46 ímperio po*puli Roma*ni *s*[ubie]ci, protulique finés Illyrici *ad* r[ip]am flúminis

c. 29.

I have recovered from Spain and Gaul, and from the Dalmatians, after conquering the enemy, many military standards which had been lost by other leaders.[1] I have compelled the Parthians to give up to me the spoils and standards of three Roman armies, and as suppliants to seek the friendship of the Roman people. Those standards, moreover, I have deposited in the sanctuary which is in the temple of Mars the Avenger.[2]

c. 30.

The Pannonian peoples, whom before I became *princeps*, no army of the Roman people had ever attacked, were defeated by Tiberius Nero, at that time my son-in-law and legate; and I brought them under

The names of the twenty-eight Italian colonies are somewhat difficult to establish. Several perplexing questions rise in the attempt. What of the colonies founded by Antony and Octavian as triumvirs? Were they Antoniæ Juliæ, or some Juliæ and others Antoniæ? If the former were true and they dropped the name Antoniæ, the result would be far more than twenty-eight Julian and Augustan colonies. The second probability is more likely, and that the colonies Antoniæ simply dropped their name after Actium.

A third difficulty rises in the case of the enlargement of old colonies and their resettlement, as, *e. g.*, of Minturnæ. Cf. Hyginus, *De Lim.*, p. 177. Mommsen gives a list which nearly meets the statement of Augustus. 1. Ariminum, *Augusta;* 2. Ateste; 3. *Augusta* Prætoria; 4. *Julia Augusta* Taurinorum; 5. Beneventum, *Julia Augusta;* 6. Bononia; 7. Brixia, *Augusta;* 8. Capua, *Julia Augusta;* 9. Castrum novum Etruriæ, *Julia;* 10. Concordia, *Julia;* 11. Cumæ (?), *Julia;* 12. Der-

C. 29.

23 Σημέας στρατιωτικὰς [πλείους δ]πὸ ἄλλων ἡγεμό-
24 νων ἀποβεβλημένας [νικῶν τοὺ]ς πολεμίους

XVI.

1 ἀπέλαβον § ἐξ Ἰσπανίας καὶ Γαλατίας καὶ παρὰ
2 Δαλματῶν· Πάρθους τριῶν στρατευμάτων Ῥωμαί-
3 ων σκῦλα καὶ σημέας ἀποδοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἱκέτας τε φι-
4 λίαν δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἀξιῶσαι ἠνάγκασα. [§] ταύτας
5 δὲ τὰς σημέας ἐν τῷ Ἄρεως τοῦ Ἀμύντορος ναοῦ ἀ-
6 δύτῳ ἀπεθέμην.

C. 30.

7 Παννονίων ἔθνη, οἷς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνος στράτευ-
8 μα Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἤγγισεν, ἡσσηθέντα ὑπὸ Τιβερίου
9 Νέρωνος, ὃς τότ' ἐμοῦ ἦν πρόγονος καὶ πρεσβευτής,
10 ἡγεμονίᾳ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ὑπέταξα [§] τά τε Ἰλλυρι-

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tona, *Julia;* 13. Fanum Fortunæ, *Julia;* 14. Falerio; 15. Hispellum, *Julia;* 16. Lucus Feroniæ, *Julia;* 17. Minturnæ; 18. Nola, *Augusta;* 19. Parentium, *Julia;* 20. Parma, *Julia Augusta;* 21. Pisae, *Julia;* 22. Pisaurum, *Julia;* 23. Pola, *Julia;* 24. Sæna (?), *Julia;* 25. Sora, *Julia;* 26. Suessa, *Julia;* 27. Sutrium, *Julia;* 28. Tuder, *Julia;* 29, Venafrum, *Julia Augusta.* Cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, I, 118–132.

C. 29. [1] Of standards recovered in Spain and Gaul we have no further knowledge. It may be that in the Cantabrian war of 728, 729, some such thing took place.

Appian, *Illyr.* XII, XXV, XXVIII, narrates the capture of standards by the Dalmatians from Gabinius in 706, and their restoration to Augustus in 721. These were then placed in the Octavian portico; and probably later transferred to the temple of Mars.

[2] The standards had been lost by Crassus and Antony. Cf. Justin, XLII, 5, 11; Livy, *Epit.*, CXLI; Suetonius, *Aug.* 21; Vell., II, 91; Vergil, *Æn.* VII, 606; Horace, *Carm.*, I, 12, 56; III, 5, 4; Dio, LIII, 33; LIV, 8; Cass. *Chron.* ad. 734; Oros., VI, 21; Florus IV, 12; Eutropius, VII, 9. One detachment of Antonius' army, under L. Decidius Saxa, was exterminated in 714, and another in 718 under Oppius Statianus. Cf. Livy, *Ep.* CXXI; Dio, XLVIII, 24.

Tiberius received the standards from the Parthians in 734. Cf. Dio, LIV, 8, etc.; Suet. *Tib.* 9. Eckhel, VI, 95, shows a coin with a Parthian on bended knee presenting a standard to Augustus. Cf. also Horace, *Epis.*, I, 12, 27; Oros., VI, 21, 29; and c. 32 of the inscription.

There were two temples of Mars Ultor, a smaller one on the Capitoline, and a larger in the forum, dedicated in 752. The standards were removed to the larger temple. Cf. Dio, LV, 10; Horace, *Carm.*, IV, 5, 16; *Epis.*, I, 18, 56; Propertius, III, 10, 3; Ovid, *Trist.* II, 295; *Fasti*, V, 549; VI, 459.

47 Dan[u]i. Citr[a quod [D]ac[or]u[m tr]an[s]gressus exercitus meis a[u]sp[icis vict]us profliga-
48 tusque [est, et postea tran]s Dan[u]vium ductus ex[ercitus me]u[s] Da[cor]um
49 gentes im[peria populi Romani perferre coegit.]

c. 31.

50 Ad me ex In[dia regum legationes saepe missae sunt, nunquam antea visae]
51 apud qu[em]q[uam] R[omanorum du]cem. § Nostram am[icitiam petierunt]
52 per legat[os] B[a]starn[ae Scythae]que et Sarmatarum q[ui sunt citra flu]men
53 Tanaim [et] ultrá reg[es, Alba]norumque réx et Hibér[orum et Medorum.]

c. 32.

54 Ad mé supplices confug[erunt] regés Parthorum Tírida[tes et postea] Phrát[es]

V, 49. imperia, W. imperium; perferre, W. accipere; S. sustinere.

subjection to the empire of the Roman people,[1] and extended the boundaries of Illyricum to the bank of the river Danube.[2] When an army of the Dacians crossed this river, it was defeated and destroyed, and afterwards my army, led across the Danube, compelled the Dacian people to submit to the sway of the Roman people.[3]

c. 31.

Embassies have been many times sent to me from the kings of India, a thing never before seen in the case of any ruler of the Romans.[1] Our friendship has been sought by means of ambassadors by the Bastarnae and the Scythians, and by the kings of the Sarmatae, who are on either side of the Tanais, and by the kings of the Albani, the Hiberi, and the Medes.[2]

c. 32.

To me have betaken themselves as suppliants the kings of the

C. 30. [1] Augustus himself had fought the Pannonians in 719, 720. Cf. Dio, XLIX, 36–38. The campaigns of Tiberius were from 742 to 745. Cf. Vell. II, 96; Dio, LIV, 31, 34; LV, 2; Suet. *Tib.*, 9.

[2] This statement varies somewhat from Dio, L, 24, who says Augustus reached the Danube in 720, and from Suetonius, *Tib.* 16, who assigns the complete subjection of the district to 759.

[3] The Dacians had become organized and strong in the latter years of the Roman

κοῦ ὅρια μέχρι Ἴστρου ποτομοῦ προήγαγον· οὗ ἐπεταδε Δάκων διαβᾶσα πολλὴ δύναμις ἐμοῖς αἰσίοις οἰωνοῖς κατεκόπη. Καὶ ὕστερον μεταχθὲν τὸ ἐμὸν στράτευμα πέραν Ἴστρου τὰ Δάκων ἔθνη προστάλματα δήμου Ῥωμαίων ὑπομένειν ἠνάγκασεν.

C. 31.

Πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐξ Ἰνδίας βασιλέων πρεσβεῖαι πολλάκις ἀπεστάλησαν, οὐδέποτε πρὸ τούτου χρόνου ὀφθεῖσαι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνι. § Τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλίαν ἠξίωσαν διὰ πρέσβεων § Βαστάρναι καὶ Σκύθαι καὶ Σαρματῶν οἱ ἐπιτάδε ὄντες τοῦ Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ καὶ οἱ πέραν δὲ βασιλεῖς, καὶ Ἀλβανῶν δὲ καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Μήδων βασιλεες.

C. 32.

Πρὸς ἐμὲ ἱκέται κατέφυγον βασιλεῖς Πάρθων μὲν

republic. Cf. Justin. XXXII, 3; Jordanis, *Get.*, XI, 67; Strabo, XVI, 2, 39; VII 3, 5; 11; Suet. *Aug.* 44. Julius Cæsar was about to proceed against them when he died. Cf. Suet. *Jul.*, 44; *Aug.*, 8; App. *B. C.*, II, 110; III, 25, 37; *Illyr.*, 13; Vell., II. 59; Livy, *Epit.*, CXVII. In 719 Augustus began his Illyrican campaign by occupying Segesta on the Save, whence he threatened the Dacians and Bastarnæ. Cf. App. *Illyr.*, 22, 23. Antony is responsible for the statement that Augustus sought to secure the goodwill of Cotiso, king of the Getæ (Dacians), by giving him his daughter and by himself marrying a daughter of Cotiso. Cf. Suetonius, *Aug.*, 63. Cotiso refused the alliance and joined the party of Antony. Cf. Dio, L, 6; LI, 22. Antony's story as to the proposed marriages is hardly credible, and may have been invented by him to offset his own alliance with Cleopatra. During the struggle between Antony and Octavian, an invasion of the Dacians was the constant dread of Italy. Cf. Vergil, *Georg.*, II, 497; Hor. *Sat.*, II, 6, 53; *Carm.*, III, 6, 13. When Antony was overthrown M. Crassus undertook the suppression of the Dacians, and triumphed, July 4, 727. Cf. Dio, LI, 23; Tab. Triumph. But Dacian incursions were still frequent. Dio records one in 738, cf. LIV, 20; and one in 744, cf. LIV, 36. Probably it was in this latter incursion that the defeat here alluded to was met by them. Finally an army was sent against them under Lentulus, in 759. Cf. Dio, LV, 30; Strabo, VII, 12 and 13; Suet. *Aug.*, 21; Florus, IV, 12, 19, 20; Tac. *Ann.*, IV, 44.

C. 31. [1] Cf. Suet. *Aug.*, 21; Flor. IV, 12, 62; Oros., VI, 21, 19, says that deputies of Indians and Scythians came to Augustus at Tarracona in 728 or 729; Dio, LIV, 9, that deputies from India came to him at Samos in 734. Strabo gives the name of the Indian king as Porus. Cf. XV. 1, 4 and 73. Cf. also Ver. *Georg.*, II, 170; *Aen.*, VI, 794; VIII, 705; Hor. *Carm.*, I, 12, 56; *Carm. Saec.*, 55, 56; *Carm.*, IV, 14, 41.

[2] For a general statement, cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 21. For the Scythians, cf. Note 1,

VI.

1 regis Phrati[s filius]; [§] Medorum [Artavasdes; Adiabeno-
2 rum A]rtaxa-
res §; Britann[o]rum Dumnobellau[nus] *et Tim* . . . . . ;
[Sugambrorum]
3 Maelo; § Mar[c]omanórum Sueboru[m . . . . . rus]. [Ad
me] rex *Part*horum
4 Phrates Orod[i]s filius filiós suós nepot[esque omnes misit]
*in Itali*am, non
5 bello superátú[s], sed amicitiam nostram per [liberorum]
suorum pignora
6 petens. § Plúrimaeque aliae gentes exper[tae sunt p. R.]
*fide*m me prin-
7 cipe, quibus anteá cum populo Roman[o nullum extitera]t
legationum
8 et amícitiae [c]ommercium. §

VI, 7. extiterat, S. fuerat.

Parthians, Tiridates, and later, Phraates, the son of king Phraates;[1] of the Medes, Artavasdes;[2] of the Adiabeni, Artaxares;[3] of the Britons, Dumnobellaunus and Tim ;[4] of the Sicambri, Maelo;[5] and of the Marcomanian Suevi, rus.[6] Phraates, king of the Parthians, son of Orodes, sent all his children and grandchildren into Italy to me, not because he had been conquered in war, but rather seeking our friendship by means of his children as pledges.[7] Since I have been *princeps* very many other races have made proof of the good faith of the Roman people, who never before had had any interchange of embassies and friendship with the Roman people.

above. For the Bastarnæ, cf. Livy, *Ep.* CXXXIV; Dio, LI, 23, 24. For the Sarmatæ, cf. Flor. l. c.; Strabo, II, 5, 30; Tac. *Ann.*, VI, 33; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, II, 108, 246; VI, 7, 19; VI, 5, 16; VI, 13, 40. Vergil refers to them as Gelones. Cf. *Aen.*, VIII, 725. Cf. also Hor. *Carm.*, II, 9; III, 8, 23. For the Albani and Iberi, cf. Dio, XLIX, 24. For the Medes, cf. c. 27 and notes.

C. 32. [1] For Phraates and Tiridates, cf. Justin, XLII, 5; Dio, LI, 18. Tiridates had supplanted Phraates and in turn was driven out by him. He then, in 724, came to Augustus for aid. But the latter was anxious to regain the lost standards from Parthia, and simply played off Tiridates against Phraates by setting him over Syria. Dio, in the passage cited, makes mention of a son of Phraates who was captured by Tiridates and given up to Augustus. This was possibly the Phraates here mentioned, though there are difficulties in the way of this explanation. For Augustus implies the voluntary coming of a reigning king, not the delivery of an abducted prince. We

24 *Τειριδάτης καὶ μετέπειτα Φραάτης βασιλέως* §
XVII.
1 *Φράτου [υἱός, Μ]ήδ[ων] δὲ Ἀρταο[υάσδ]ης, Ἀδιαβ[η]-*
2 *νῶν [Ἀ]ρτα[ξάρης, Βριτα]ννῶν Δομνοελλαῦνος*
3 *καὶ Τ[ιμ. . . . . , Σο]υ[γ]άμβρων [Μ]αίλων, Μαρκο-*
4 *μάνων [Σουήβων] . . . . . ρος. § [Πρὸ]ς ἐμὲ βασιλεις*
5 *Πάρθων Φρα[άτης Ὡρώδο]υ υἱὸ[ς υ]ἱοὺς [αὐτοῦ] υἱω-*
6 *νούς τε πάντας ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, οὐ πολέμῳ*
7 *λειφθείς, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡμ[ε]τέραν φιλίαν ἀξιῶν ἐπὶ τέ-*
8 *κνων ἐνεχύροις, πλεῖστά τε ἄλλα ἔθνη πεῖραν ἔλ[α]-*
9 *βεν δήμου Ῥωμαίων πίστεως ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνος,*
10 *οἷς τὸ πρὶν οὐδεμία ἦν πρὸς δῆμον Ῥωμαίων π[ρε]σ-*
11 *βειῶν καὶ φιλίας κοινωνία.*

know that in 731 Tiridates was in Rome asking that Parthia be assigned to him, and that at the same time Phraates sent an embassy begging the restitution of his son. Cf. Dio, LIII, 33. Augustus laid the matter before the senate, and by their advice restored the prince in exchange for the standards, but did not yield to the plea of Tiridates.

[2] Cf. c. 27.

[3] A people east of the Tigris, and west of Media Atropatane. Nothing is known of Artaxares. For the Adiabeni and their kingdom, cf. Strabo, XVI, 1, 19; Tac. *Ann.*, XII, 13; Josephus, *Ant.*, XX, 2, 1.

[4] Augustus several times was on the point of invading Britain. Cf. Dio, XLIX, 38, for 720; LIII, 22, 25, for 727, 728. The poets have many prophecies of victories in Britain. Cf. Ver. *Georg.*, I, 30, written in 724; III, 25; Hor. *Epode*, VII, 7; *Carm.*, I. 35, 29, of the year 727, 728; *Carm.*, III, 5; I, 21, 15; III, 4, 33; IV, 14, 48. But nothing came of these plans. Cf. Strabo, IV, 5, 3, for embassies from Britain. Coins of Dumnobellaunus have been found. Cf. J. Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons* (London, 1864), p. 198, and the following plate 4, Nos. 6–12.

[5] The great defeat of Lollius in 738 was by the Sicambri, joined with the Usipites and Tencteri. Cf. Dio, LIV, 20; Vell., II, 97; Suet. *Aug.*, 23. There was a temporary peace. Cf. Horace, *Carm.*, IV, 2. 36; 14, 51. They rebelled in 742, and were put down, first by Drusus and later by Tiberius. Cf. Dio, LIV, 32, 33, 36. In 746 they were completely subjugated and removed into Gaul. Cf. Dio, LV, 6; Vell. II, 97; Suet., *Aug.*, 21; *Tib.*, 9; Tac. *Ann.*, II, 26; XII, 39; Strabo, VII, 1, 3. Probably the coming of Maelo was during this surrender of 746.

[6] The Marcomani were a branch of the Suevi. Cf. Tac., *Germ.*, XXXVIII; *Ann.*, II, 44, 62.

[7] The four sons were Seraspedes, Rhodaspedes, Vonones and Phraates, with the wives of two of them and four children. Cf. Strabo, XVI, 1, 28; VI, 4, 2; Justin, XLII, 5, 11; Vell., II, 94; Tac. *Ann.*, II, 1; Oros., VI, 21, 29; Suet., *Aug.* 21, 43; Jos., *Antiq.*, XVIII, 2, 4. They were sent to be out of harm's way during

c. 33.

9 Á me gentés Parthórum et Médóru[m per legatos] principes eárum gen-
10 tium régés pet[i]tós accéperunt Par[thi Vononem regis Phr]á-
11 tis fílium, régis Oródis nepótem; § Médí Ar[iobarzanem] regis Arta-
12 vazdis fi-lium, regis Ariobarzanis nep[otem].

c. 34.

13 Ín consulátú sexto et septimo, b[ella ubi civil]ia exstinxeram
14 per consénsum úniversórum [potitus rerum omn]ium, rem publicam
15 ex meá potestáte [§] in senát[us populique Romani a]rbitrium transtulí.

VI, 13. bella ubi, S. postquam bella; ubi, G. cum.

c. 33.

From me the peoples of the Parthians and of the Medes have received the kings they asked for through ambassadors, the chief men of those peoples: the Parthians, Vonones, the son of king Phraates, and grandson of king Orodes;[1] the Medes, Ariobarzanes, the son of king Artavasdes, and grandson of king Ariobarzanes.[2]

c. 34.

In my sixth and seventh consulships, when I had put an end to the civil wars, after having obtained complete control of affairs by universal consent, I transferred the commonwealth from my own dominion to the authority of the senate and Roman people.[1] In return for this favor

troubles in Parthia, according to all but Josephus, who says they were removed so as not to hinder the succession of Phraataces, an illegitimate son. When Phraates died, Phraataces in vain asked Augustus for the return of the princes. This was c. 750. Cf. Dio, fragments, Ursin. 39. The two elder princes died in Rome. Cf. C. I. L., VI, 7799. Vonones was sent back by Augustus. Cf. c. 33, Note 1; Phraates was returned by Tiberius in 788. Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 31; Dio, LVIII, 16. Probably the princes were sent to Augustus in 744. Cf. Mommsen, *R. G.*, p. 141.

C. 33. [1] The comment of Mommsen here seems too severe. He says: "The writer magnifies his splendors beyond what is exact: for the Parthians and Medes asked Augustus, not so much to appoint kings for them, as to restore to them those to whom the kingdom had fallen by hereditary right." Such a criticism seems to overlook the force of the word *petitos*, as applied to *reges:* they got the kings they "asked for."

c. 33.

12 *Παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐθνη Πάρθων καὶ Μήδων διὰ πρέσβεων τῶν*
13 *παρ' αὐτοῖς πρώτων βασιλεῖς αἰτησάμενοι ἔλαβ[ον]*
14 *Πάρθοι Οὐονώνην βασιλέως Φράτου υ[ἱ]όν, βασιλ[έω]ς*
15 *Ὠρώδου υἱωνόν· Μῆδοι Ἀριοβαρζάνην βα[σ]ιλέως*
16 *Ἀρταβάζου υἱόν, βασιλέως Ἀριοβαρζάν[ου υἱω]νόν.*

c. 34.

17 *Ἐν ὑπατείᾳ ἕκτῃ καὶ ἑβδόμῃ μετὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐνφυ-*
18 *λίους ζβέσαι με πολέμους [κ]ατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς τῶν ἐ-*
19 *μῶν πολε[ι]τῶν ἐνκρατὴς γενόμενος πάντων τῶν*
20 *πραγμάτων, ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐξουσίας εἰς τὴν τῆς συν-*
21 *κλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετήνεγκα*

Phraataces was reigning in 754. Cf. Dio, LV, 10; Vell. II, 101. He was succeeded by Orodes for a short time. Then came the choice of Vonones. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVIII, 2, 4; Tac. *Ann.* II, 1. Josephus gives no date. Tacitus implies 770. Augustus, however, returned Vonones, and the date must be much earlier, probably c. 760. A Parthian embassy was in Rome between 757 and 759. Cf. Suet. *Tib.*, 16. Coins also show the name of Vonones in 761. Cf. Gardner, *Parthian Coinage*, p. 46. His reign was very brief. Cf. Tacitus and Josephus, ll. cc.

[2] Cf. c. 27.

C. 34. [1] This chapter is possibly the most weighty in the whole inscription, inasmuch as it sets forth the view of his policy which Augustus wished the world to hold. How far his statements in the opening and closing sentences represent his own actual notions of his relations to the sovereign power in Rome is a matter of debate. For a full discussion Mommsen, *Röm. St.* II, p. 723, ff., may be read, and Gardthausen, *Aug.* I[α] Th. II[α] Bd., pp. 485–540 and II[α] Th., pp. 277–299.

The question is: Did Augustus in any real sense restore the republic, or did he conceive of himself as monarch, but find it politic to suppress all outward marks of royalty? Was his chief concern to maintain the peace and prosperity of the Roman people, with as little alteration as possible of the old constitutional forms, or was his object the building up of power for his own sake? This is confessedly one of the riddles of history. The best that can be done is to study his actions, estimating their worth and tendency, and leaving the motives of the great statesman where he hid them,—locked in his own bosom.

Undoubtedly, all through the *Res Gestæ*, as is pointed out in the introduction, and as has been noticed from time to time in these notes, one of his great aims is to represent himself as a conservative, moving within constitutional limits. Coins of the period emphasize the view set forth in the opening sentence of this chapter with regard to the restoration of the republic. Cf. Eckhel, VI, 83: *imp. Cæsar divi f. cos. VI, liberatis p. R. vindex;* "The imperator, Cæsar, son of the divine (Cæsar) consul for the sixth time, (726) restorer of the freedom of the Roman people." Cf. C. I. L. VI,

16 Quó pro merito meó senatu[s consulto Aug. appe]llátus sum et laureís
17 postés aedium meárum v[estiti publice coronaq]ue civíca super
18 iánuam meam fíxa est [§] [clupeusque aureu]s in [c]úriá Iúliá posi-
19 tus, quem mihi senatum [populumque Romanu]m dare virtutis cle-
20 [mentia]e iustitia[e pietatis causa testatum] est pe[r e]ius clúpei

VI, 16. Aug. S. Augustus.
VI, 17. vestiti, W. velati sunt; S. inserts sunt after vestiti.

on my part I received by decree of the senate the title Augustus,[2] the door-posts of my house were publicly decked with laurels, a civic crown was fixed above my door,[3] and in the Julian Curia was placed a golden shield, which, by its inscription, bore witness that it was given to me by the senate and Roman people on account of my valor, clemency, justice

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1527: "the whole world pacified, the republic restored." Also, C. I. L. I, p. 384; the date referred to is Jan. 13, 727: "The senate decreed that an oaken crown should be fixed above the door of the imperator, Cæsar Augustus, because he restored the Roman republic." Contemporary Roman writers simply echo the views of Augustus. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 589, for Jan. 13, 727, Velleius, II, 89, says: "When the civil wars were finished in the twentieth year, (724) and the foreign wars brought to a close, peace was brought back, power restored to the laws, authority to the tribunals, majesty to the senate, the *imperium* of the magistrates reduced to its old time form, the original and ancient form of the state restored." Cf. Livy, *Epit*, CXXXIV. The Greek Strabo, also a contemporary, writes, XVII, 3, 25: "The country committed to him the headship of her sovereignty, and made him lord of peace and war for life." Later writers, even the Romans, are equally free in their judgments. Dio, LII, I, says: "From this time (725) the affairs of Rome began to be in the control of one man (μοναρχεῖσθαι)." Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 28; Tac. *Ann*, III, 28. Dio's account of the conference in which Agrippa advises a real abdication by Augustus, and Mæcenas urges a bold assumption of supreme power (LII, 1–40) is regarded as fictitious.

The facts in the case are these: In 711 the Titian law gave the triumvirs a five years' lease of power. In 716 this was renewed not by formal legislation, but "by universal consent." Cf. App., *B. C.* V, 95. This triumviral power Augustus wielded till his sixth consulship, 726, though there was a pretence of its cessation in 721. Cf. c. 7, N, 1, and Mommsen, *Röm. St.*, II, 698. In this and the following years he divested himself gradually of one extraordinary power after another. He could not at once fall back to the position of an ordinary magistrate. The armies, the laws, the provinces, the revenues had all been in his control. These he must gradually restore. Cf. Dio, LII, 13; LIII, 4, 9, 10. In 726 he began his return to older customs by

22 κυρήαν. ἐξ ἧς αἰτίας δόγματι συνκλήτου Σεβαστὸς
23 προσ[ηγορε]ύθην καὶ δάφναις δημοσίᾳ τὰ πρόπυ-
24 λ[ά μου ἐστέφθ]η, ὅ τε δρύινος στέφανος ὁ διδόμενος

XVIII.

1 ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῶν πολειτῶν ὑπερά[ν]ω τοῦ πυλῶ-
2 νος τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας ἀνετέθη, § ὅπ[λ]ον τε χρυ-
3 σοῦν ἐν τῷ βο[υ]λευτηρίῳ ἀνατεθ[ὲ]ν ὑπό τε τῆς
4 συνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥω[μα]ίων
5 διὰ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐπείκειαν κα[ὶ δ]ικαιοσύνην

alternating with Agrippa, his colleague, in the consulship, in having the fasces borne before him by the lictors for a month. Cf. Dio, LIII, 1. The restoration of the censorship was part of the same programme. Dio, LIII, 2, says that by an edict he declared all the revolutionary and extraordinary acts of the triumviral period should cease to be effective with the expiration of his sixth consulship (726). The inscription of Jan. 13, 727, above alluded to, C. I. L. I, p. 384, marks that date as that on which the business of restoring the provinces was finally given over to the senate.

From this time on the senate divided the control of the provinces with him. Augustus took the troublesome provinces and the frontier ones, leaving to the senate the older and more peaceable. Over these provinces he received a proconsular imperium for ten years, which was renewed at the expiration of that term. In c. 7 he says that he found the tribunitial power a sufficient basis for all the measures which he wished to put through. Now the proconsulship and tribuneship were both ordinary and constitutional offices. Augustus' occupancy of each affords an illustration of the way in which he held ordinary offices in an extraordinary way. For by the old customs a proconsul must exercise his *imperium* in his province, and never at Rome. Augustus could not be in ten provinces at once, and must be at Rome most of the time. Hence a violation of the constitution was necessary. The tribuneship, instituted for the protection of plebeians could be held only by a plebeian. But Augustus was a patrician. For this reason he did not take the tribuneship in the ordinary way, nor by the ordinary title, but designated himself as *tribunicia potestate*, "of tribunitial authority."

The title *princeps*, "prince" is never used by Augustus as an official designation in laws and inscriptions, but indicates simply his primacy of rank and is so used throughout the *Res Gestæ*. Cf. cc. 13, 30, 32.

[2] Cf. C. I. L. I, p. 384; X, 8375; Livy, *Ep.*, 134; Cass. ad. an. 727; Oros. VI, 20, 8; Vell. II, 91; Suet. *Aug.* 7; Dio, LIII, 16.

[3] Cf. coins in Eckhel, VI, 88; Cohen, *Aug.* nos. 43–48, 50, 207–212, 301, 341, 356, 385, 426, 476–8, 482. All these show either the crown or the laurels and many of them have both. With the crown is generally *ob civis servatos*, "for preserving the citizens." The civic crown being the reward of any soldier who saved a citizen's life, Augustus was pre-eminently deemed worthy of it, because he had saved so many by putting an end to the civil wars, and by his clemency. Cf. Dio, LIII, 16; Suet. *Claud.* 17; Sen. *De Clem.* I, 26, 5; Ovid, *Tr.* III, 1, 39, 41, 47; *Fasti* IV, 953;

21 [inscription]em. § Post id tem[pus praestiti omnibus dignitate potes-
22 t]atis au[tem n]ihilo ampliu[s habui quam qui fuerunt m]ihi quo-
23 que in ma[gis]tra[t]u conlegae.

c. 35.

24 Tertium dec[i]mum consulátu[m cum gerebam, senatus et equ]ester ordo
25 populusq[ue] Románus úniversus [appellavit me patrem p]atriae idque
26 in vestibu[lo a]edium meárum inscriben[dum esse et in curia e]t in foró Aug.
27 sub quadrig[i]s, quae mihi [ex] s. c. pos[itae sunt, decrevit. Cum scri]psi haec,
28 annum agebam septuagensu[mum sextum].

c. 1.

29 Summá pecún[i]ae, quam ded[it in aerarium vel plebei Romanae vel di]mis-

VI, 22. quam, G. iis.

and piety.[4] After that time I excelled all others in dignity, but of power I held no more than those also held who were my colleagues in any magistracy.[5]

c. 35.

While I was consul for the thirteenth time the senate and the equestrian order and the entire Roman people gave me the title of father of the fatherland, and decreed that it should be inscribed upon the vestibule of my house and in the Curia, and in the Augustan Forum beneath the quadriga which had been, by decree of the senate, set up in my honor.[1] When I wrote these words I was in my seventy-sixth year.[2]

SUPPLEMENT.

c. 1.

The sum of the money which he gave in to the treasury or to the

III, 137; Val. Max. II, 8, 7; Juv. VI, 52, 79; X, 65; XII, 91; Tac. *Ann.* XV, 71.

[4] No ancient writer mentions this shield, but a number of coins and inscriptions portray it. Cf. C. I. L. IX, 5811, wherein two Victories carry a shield inscribed:

καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἐμοὶ μαρτυρεῖ. § Ἀξιώμ[α]τι [§] πάντων
δεδήνεγκα, [§] ἐξουσίας δὲ οὐδέν τι πλεῖον ἔσχον
τῶν συναρξάντων μοι.

C. 35.

Τρισκαιδεκάτην ὑπατείαν ἄγοντός μου ἥ τε σύν-
κλητος καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν τάγμα ὅ τε σύνπας δῆμος τῶν
Ῥωμαίων προσηγόρευσέ με πατέρα πατρίδος καὶ τοῦτο
ἐπὶ τοῦ προπύλου τῆς οἰκίας μου καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτη-
ρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Σεβαστῇ ὑπὸ τῷ ἅρματι, ὃ μοι
δόγματι συνκλήτου ἀνετέθη, ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐψηφίσα-
το. [§] Ὅτε ἔγραφον ταῦτα, ἦγον ἔτος ἑβδομηκοστὸν
ἕκτον. §

Συνκεφαλαίωσις [§] ἠριθμημένου χρήματος εἰς τὸ αἰρά-

"The senate and Roman people have given to Augustus a shield on account of his valor, clemency, justice and piety;" the very words of the *Res Gestæ*. For coins, cf. Eckhel, VI, 95, 103, 121; Cohen, *Aug.* nos. 50-53, 213–216, 253, 264–267, 283, 286–297, 332. The Victory, which is frequently associated with the shield, probably indicates that the latter was placed by Augustus near the altar of Victory erected by him in the Curia Julia.

[5] Cf. Note 1.

C. 35. [1] This title was given Feb. 5, 752. Cf. C. I. L. I, p. 386; II, No. 2107. As in the case of the title, prince of the youth, conferred upon Gaius and Lucius, and of the continuance of his supreme power by universal consent (cf. cc. 14 and 34), the appellation, father of the fatherland, was given by general acclamation, leaving to the senate only the formal ratification of the popular will. Suet. *Aug.* 58, expressly states this. Cf. also Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 128.

The Augustan Forum was dedicated this same year, 752. Cf. c. 21, Note. In all probability the quadriga had been in existence some time before this, inasmuch as it appears on a coin of uncertain date with the inscription: "the senate and Roman people to Cæsar Augustus, parent and preserver." If the quadriga had been made at the time this inscription was ordered, the coin would surely have borne the formal title, "father of the fatherland," not the designation, "parent." Cf. Eckhel, VI, 113.

[2] The seventy-sixth year of Augustus began Sept. 23, 766. Chapter 8 mentions his third census, which was completed one hundred days before his death, hence May 11, 767. The *Res Gestæ* must have been written, then, in the interval between this date and his start for Campania, on his last journey, as we know he left this document in the hands of the Vestal Virgins. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 97.

SUPPLEMENT.

For a discussion of this supplement, see the Introduction.

30 sis militibus : denarium se[xi]e[ns milliens].

c. 2.

31 Opera fecit nova § aedem Martis, [Iovis tonantis et feretri, Apollinis],
32 díví Iúli, § Quirini, § Minervae, [Iunonis reginae, Iovis Libertatis],
33 Larum, deum Penátium, [§] Iuv[entatis, Matris deum, Lupercal, pulvina]r
34 ad circum, [§] cúriam cum ch[alcidico, forum Augustum, basilica]m
35 Iuliam, theatrum Marcelli, [§] [p]or[ticus . . . . . ., nemus trans T]iberím
36 Caesarum. §

c. 3.

37 Refécit Capito[lium sacra]sque aedes [nu]m[ero octoginta] duas, thea[t]rum Pom-
38 peí, aqu[arum rivos, vi]am Flamin[iam].

c. 4.

39 Ímpensa p . . . . . [in spect]acul[a scaenica et munera] gladiatorum at-
40 [que athletas et venationes et naum]ach[iam] et donata pe-[c]unia a (?)
41 . . . . . [ter]rae motu § incendioque consum-

Roman people, or to discharged soldiers, was six hundred million denarii.[1]

c. 2.

He constructed new works as follows: the temples of Mars, of Jupiter the Thunderer and the Vanquisher, of Apollo, of the divine Julius, of Quirinus, of Minerva, of Juno Regina, of Jupiter Libertas, of the Lares, of the divine Penates, of Youth, and of the Mother of the gods, the Lupercal, the Pulvinar in the Circus, the Curia with the Chalcidicum, the Augustan Forum, the Basilica Julia, the Theatre of Marcellus, the Portico on the Palatine, the Portico in the Flaminian Circus, the grove of the Cæsars beyond the Tiber.[1]

ριον ἢ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ῥω[μαί]ων ἢ εἰς τοὺς ἀπολε-
λυμένους στρατιώτας [§]: ἐξ μυριάδες μυριάδων. §
Ἔργα καινὰ ἐγένετο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ναοὶ μὲν Ἄρεως, Διὸς
βροντησίου καὶ τροπαιοφόρου, Πανός, Ἀπόλλω-
νος, [§] θεοῦ Ἰουλίου, Κυρείνου, [§] Ἀ[θη]νᾶς, [§] Ἥρας
βασιλί-
δος, [§] Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου, [§] ἡρώ[ων, θεῶν π]ατρίων, [§],
Νε-
ότητος, [§] Μητρὸς θεῶν, [§] β[ουλευτήριον] σὺν χαλκι-

XIX.

δικῷ, [§] ἀγορᾷ Σεβαστῇ [§], θέατρον Μαρκέλλου, [§] β[α]σι-
λικὴ Ἰουλία, [§] ἄλσος Καισάρων, [§] στοαὶ ἐ[ν] Παλατ[ί]ῳ,
στοὰ ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ Φλαμινίῳ. § Ἐπεσκευάσθ[η τὸ Κα]-
πιτώλιον, [§] ναοὶ ὀγδοήκοντα δύο, [§] θέ[ατ]ρον Π[ομ]-
πηίου, [§] ὁδὸς Φλαμινία, [§] ἀγωγοὶ ὑδάτων. [Δαπ]άναι δὲ
εἰς θέας καὶ μονομάχους καὶ ἀθλητὰς καὶ ναυμα-
χίαν καὶ θηρομαχίαν δωρεαί [τε] ἀποικίαις πόλεσιν

c. 3.

He restored the Capitol, and sacred structures to the number of eighty-two, the Theatre of Pompey, the aqueducts, the Flaminian Way.[1]

c. 4.

His expenses for theatrical representations, for gladiatorial and athletic exhibitions, for chases and the naval combat,[1] also for gifts in money to the colonies and cities of Italy,[2] to provincial cities suffering

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C. 1. [1] Equivalent to 2,400,000,000 sesterces, about $120,000,000. This does not exactly correspond with the sum of the items mentioned in the *Res Gestæ*. These sum up 2,199,800,000 sesterces.

C. 2. [1] A mere summary of c. 19, with a bit from c. 20, the only principle of arrangement being to put temples first, and the rest haphazard. The difference in the Greek and Latin is curious. No attempt is made to reproduce *pulvinar* in Greek, although in c. 19 it had been rendered *ναόν*.

C. 3. [1] A summary of c. 20.

C. 4. [1] A summary of cc. 22, 23.

[2] For aid given to Naples, cf. Dio, LV, 10; to Venafrum, in Campania, C. I. L. X, 4842.

42 pt[is] a[ut viritim] a[micis senat]oribusque, quórum census explévit,

43 in[n]umera[bili]s. §

from earthquake or conflagrations,[3] and to individual friends and to senators, whose property he raised to the standard,[4] were innumerable.

[3] For aid to Paphos, cf. Dio, LIV, 23; to a number of towns in Asia, Dio, LIV, 30; to Laodicea and Tralles, Strabo, XII, 8, 18; to Thyatira and Chios, Suet. *Tib.* 8.

[4] Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 41. The estate necessary to qualify a senator he raised from 800,000 sesterces to 1,200,000, and where senators were worthy, though poor, he made up their fortunes to that sum. Cf. Dio, LI, 17; LII, 19; LIII, 2; LIV, 17; LV, 13; LVI, 41.

8 εν Ἰταλίᾳ, πόλεσιν ἐν ἐπαρχείαις [§] σεισμῷ κα[ὶ] ἐνπυ-
9 ρισμοῖς πεπονηκυίαις ἢ κατ' ἄνδρα φίλοις καὶ συν-
10 κλητικοῖς, ὧν τὰς τειμήσεις προσεξεπλήρωσεν: ἄ-
11 πειρον πλῆθος.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

(*Roman numerals refer to chapters.*)

A. U. C.

706. Made *pontifex*, VI.

710. Raises army at his own cost, I; gives to each citizen 300 sesterces, according to will of Julius Cæsar, XV.

711. Enters senate, receives consular rank, and the *imperium*, becomes *propraetor*, *imperator*, consul, I; triumvir, I and VII; exiles murderers of Julius Cæsar, II.

712. War of Philippi, II; builds the curia, XIX, app. II.

714. *Imperator* second and third times; ovation, IV.

716. Recovers Sardinia, XXVII.

718. The Sicilian war, III and XIX; fourth time *imperator*, IV; punishes revolted slaves, XXV; recovers Sicily, XXVII; ovation, IV; receives tribunitial power, X, cf. VI; builds temple of Apollo on the Palatine, XIX, app. II.

721. Fifth time *imperator?* IV; recovers standards from Dalmatians, XXIX.

722. Becomes leader against Antony, XXV.

723. Victory of Actium; clemency as victor, III; sixth time *imperator*, IV.

724. Fourth consulship; veterans colonized, XVI; provinces east of the Adriatic, and Cyrenae recovered; Egypt annexed, XXVII; Artavasdes the Mede and Tiridates the Parthian flee to Augustus, XXXII; ornaments replaced in temples of Asia, XXIV.

725. Fifth consulship, VIII, XV, XXI; seventh time *imperator;* triple triumph, IV; declines coronary gold, XXI; gives to 120,000 colonized soldiers 1,000 sesterces apiece; gives the people 400 sesterces each, XV; gives gladiatorial show, XXII; consecrates gifts in various temples, XXI; closes temple of Janus, XIII; name placed in Salian hymn, X; increases number of patricians, VIII.

726. Sixth consulship, VIII, XX, XXXIV. Takes census; revises list of senators, VIII; made *princeps senatus*, VII; restores city temples, XX, app. III; gives money to the treasury, XVII; gives gladiatorial and athletic shows, XXII; games vowed and celebrated for health of Augustus, IX; restores the commonwealth to the senate and people, XXXIV.

727. Seventh consulship, XX, XXXIV. Continuation of transfer of power to senate and people; is called Augustus; door-posts decked with laurel; civic crown and golden shield accorded, XXXIV; repairs Flaminian Way, XX, app III; melts down silver statues for offerings, XXIV.

729. Eighth time *imperator;* refuses triumph, IV; closes temple of Janus the second time, XIII; Arabian expedition, XXVI.

730. Tenth consulship; gives the people 400 sesterces each.

731. Eleventh consulship; twelve times supplies food for citizens, XV, cf. V; Ethiopian expedition, XXVI.

A. U. C.

732. Consulship of Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius; refuses annual and perpetual consulship; also the dictatorship; accepts the administration of grain supply, V; dedicates temple of Jupiter Tonans, XIX.

733. Refuses consulship? V.

734. Receives embassy from India, XXXI; ninth time *imperator?* refuses a triumph, IV; recovers standards from Parthia, XXIX; gives Armenia Major to Tigranes, XXVII.

735. Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinucius consuls; altar of Fortuna Redux consecrated; Augustalia established, XI; deputation of leading men meet Augustus in Campania, XII; declines the custody of laws and morals, VI.

736. Cnaeus and Publius Lentulus consuls, VI, XVIII; remits tribute, XVIII; again declines custody of laws and morals; associates Agrippa in tribunitial power, VI.

737. Gaius Furnius and Gaius Silanus consuls; secular games, XXII.

738. Augustus supplies money to the treasury, XVII; gives gladiatorial show, XXII; dedicates temple of Quirinus, XIX, app. II.

739. Tenth time *imperator*, IV.

740. Marcus Crassus and Cnaeus Lentulus consuls; pays provincials for lands taken for veterans.

741. Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius consuls, XII; deposits laurel in the Capitol, IV; altar of the Augustan Peace dedicated, XII; again associates Agrippa in tribunitial power, VI.

742. Gaius Sulpicius and Gaius Valgius consuls, X; twelfth year of tribunitial power, XV; eleventh time *imperator*, IV; made *pontifex maximus*, X; gives gladiatorial show, XXII; gives the people 400 sesterces each, XV.

743. Paullus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Tubero consuls, VI; twelfth time *imperator*, IV; for the third time refuses the custody of laws and morals, VI; dedicates theater of Marcellus, XXI, app. II.

745. Thirteenth time *imperator;* deposits the laurel in temple of Jupiter Feretrius, IV; Tiberius Nero subdues the Pannonians, XXX.

746. Gaius Censorinus and Gaius Asinius consuls; second census taken; list of senate revised, VIII; children of Phraates sent to Rome; Maelo, King of the Sicambri, surrenders himself, XXXII; fourteenth time *imperator;* refuses a triumph, IV.

747. Tiberius Nero and Cnaeus Piso consuls; veterans discharged, with gratuities, XVI; Alpine peoples added to the empire, XXVI; gives gladiatorial show, XXII.

748. Gaius Antistius and Decimus Laelius consuls; veterans discharged, with gratuities, XVI; associates Tiberius in tribunitial power, VI.

749. Eighteenth year of tribunitial power; twelfth consulship; gives sixty denarii each to 320,000 citizens; Gaius Cæsar consul designate, made prince of the youth, received into senate, XIV; aqueducts repaired, XX, app. III.

750. Gaius Calvisius and Lucius Passienus consuls; veterans discharged, with gratuities, XVI.

751 Lucius Lentulus and Marcus Messala consuls; veterans discharged, with gratuities, XVI.

A. U. C.

752. Thirteenth consulship, XV, XXII, XXXV; Lucius Caninius and Quintus Fabricius consuls; veterans discharged, with gratuities, XVI; gives the citizens sixty denarii each, XV; Lucius Cæsar consul designate, prince of the youth, and admitted to senate, XIV; dedicates temple of Mars Ultor, XXI, app. II; martial games instituted, XXII; naval contest exhibited, XXIII; title *pater patriae* conferred, XXXV.

755. Lucius Cæsar dies, XIV, cf. XX; fifteenth time *imperator*, IV; Armenia subdued by Gaius Cæsar and given to Ariobarzanes, XXVII.

757. Gaius Cæsar dies, XIV, cf. XX; again associates Tiberius in tribunitial power, VI.

758. Fleet penetrates to limits of the Cimbri; the Cimbri, Charudes and Semnones send ambassadors, XXVI; King Vonones given to the Parthians, XXXIII.

759. Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius consuls, XVII; seventeenth time *imperator*, IV; Dacians subdued, XXX; gives gladiatorial show, XXII; military treasury established, XVII.

762. Nineteenth time *imperator*, IV.

766. Associates Tiberius the third time in tribunitial power, VI.

767. Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius consuls, VIII; thirty-seventh year of tribunitial power, IV; seventy-sixth year of Augustus, XXXV; third census taken; list of senate revised, VIII.

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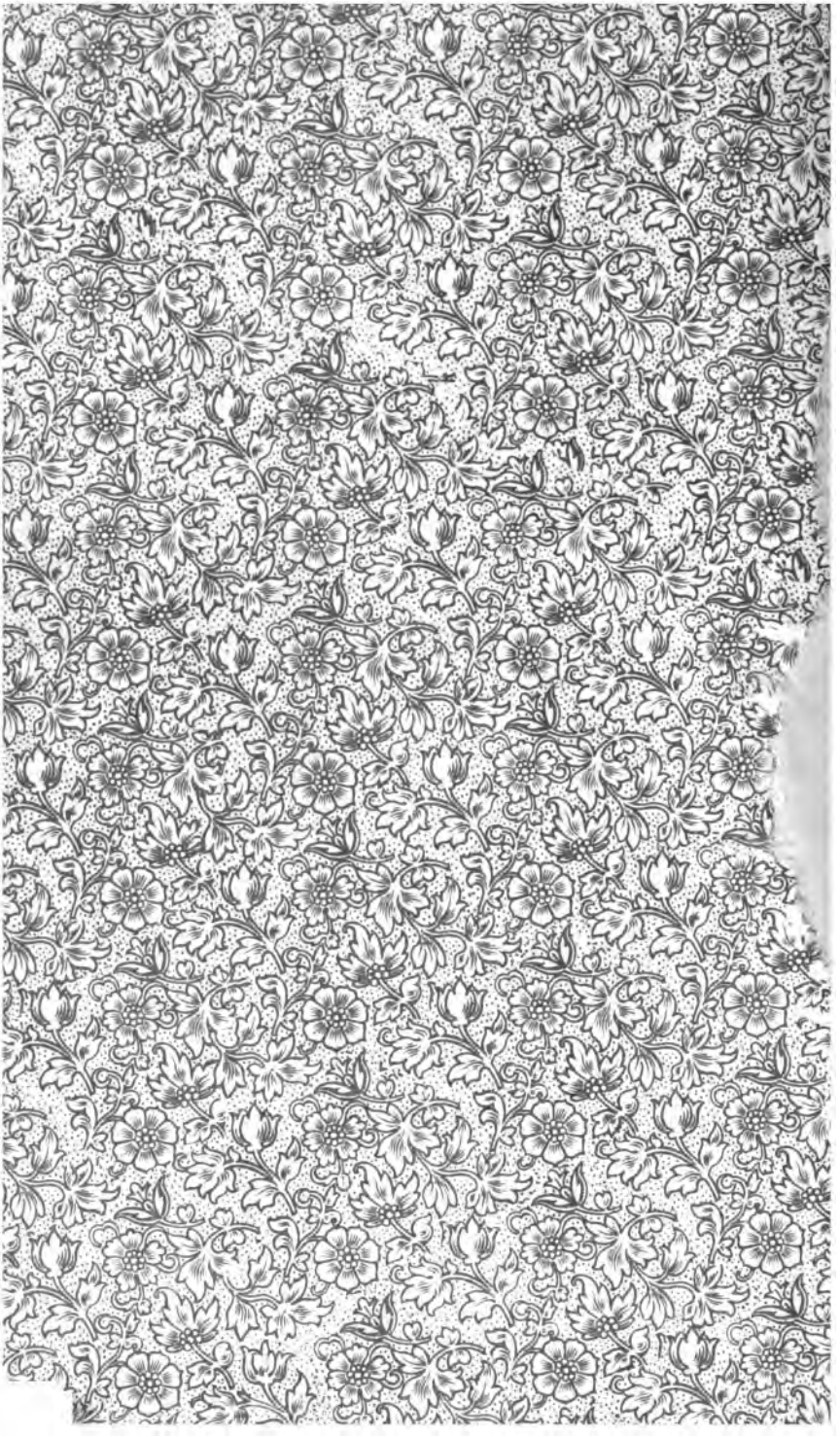

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